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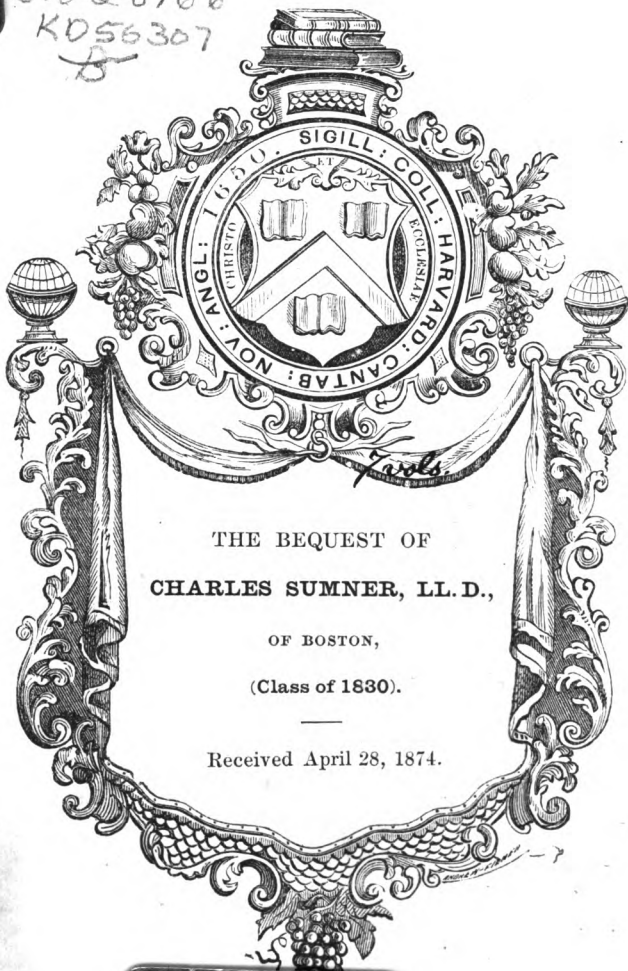
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JOSEPHUS.

Published by D. Huntington.

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THE
GENUINE WORKS

OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS;

THE LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC
JEWISH HISTORIAN,
AND
CELEBRATED WARRIOR.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,
THREE DISSERTATIONS.

TRANSLATED BY
WILLIAM WHISTON, A. M.

VOL. I.

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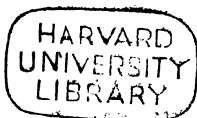
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1874, April 28.

Bequest of
Hon. Chas. Sumner,
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(Fols. I. - VII.)



THREE
DISSERTATIONS,

CONTAINING

- I. The Testimonies of JOSEPHUS concerning JESUS CHRIST,
JOHN the Baptist, and JAMES the Just, vindicated.**
- II. Concerning God's command to ABRAHAM to offer up
ISAAC his son for a sacrifice.**
- III. A Demonstration that TACITUS, the Roman historian,
took his History of the Jews out of JOSEPHUS.**

DISSERTATION I.

—***—

The Testimonies of Josephus, concerning Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, and James the Just, vindicated.

SINCE we meet with several important testimonies in Josephus, the Jewish historian, concerning John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, and concerning JAMES the Just, the brother of Jesus of Nazareth; and since the principal testimony, which is that concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, has of late been greatly questioned by many, and rejected by some of the learned as spurious, it will be fit for me, who have ever declared my firm belief that these testimonies were genuine, to set down fairly some of the *original evidence and citations* I have met with in the first fifteen centuries concerning them, and then to make proper *observations* upon that evidence, for the reader's more complete satisfaction.

But before I produce the citations themselves out of Josephus, give me leave to prepare the reader's attention, by setting down the sentiments of perhaps the most learned person, and the most competent judge that ever was, as to the authority of Josephus, I mean of Joseph Scaliger in the Prolegomena to his book *De Emendatione Temporum*, p. 17. "Josephus is the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers: nor are we afraid to affirm of him, that it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this, because his fidelity and his compass of learning are every where conspicuous."

THE ANCIENT CITATIONS OF THE TESTIMONIES OF JOSEPHUS, FROM HIS OWN TIME TILL THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

About A. D. 110. Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. cap. 44.

Nero, in order to stifle the rumour, [as if he had himself set Rome on fire,] ascribed it to these people who were hated.

for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar, *Christians*: these he punished exquisitely. *The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate the procurator.*

About A. D. 147. Just. Mart. Dialog. cum Trypho. p. 234.

You [Jews] knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretell was to happen.

About A. D. 230. Origen. Comment. in Matth. p. 230.

This James was of so shining a character among the people, on account of his righteousness, that Flavius Josephus, when, in his twentieth book of the Jewish Antiquities, he had a mind to set down what was the cause why the people suffered such miseries, till the very holy house was demolished, he said, that these things befell them by the anger of God, on account of what they had dared to do to James, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*: and wonderful it is, that, while he did not receive Jesus for Christ, he did nevertheless bear witness that James was so righteous a man. He says further, that the people thought that they suffered these things for the sake of James.

About A. D. 250. Contr. Cels. lib. i. p. 35, 36.

I would say to Celsus, who personates a Jew, that admitted of John the Baptist, and how he baptized Jesus, that one who lived but a little while after John and Jesus, wrote, how that John was a baptizer unto the remission of sins: for Josephus testifies in the eighteenth book of Jewish Antiquities, that John was the baptist, and that he promised purification to those that were baptized. The same Josephus also, although he did not believe in Jesus as Christ, when he was inquiring after the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the demolition of the temple, and ought to have said, that their machinations against Jesus were the cause of those miseries coming on the people, because they had slain that Christ, who was foretold by the prophets, he, though as it were unwillingly, and yet as one not remote from the truth, says, "These miseries befell the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, that was called *Christ*, because they had slain him who was a most righteous person." Now this James was he whom that genuine

disciple of Jesus, Paul, said he had seen *as the Lord's brother*; (Gal. i. 19.) which relation implies not so much nearness of blood, or the sameness of education, as it does the agreement of manners and preaching. If, therefore, he says the desolation of Jerusalem befell the Jews for the sake of James, with how much greater reason might he have said, that it happened for the sake of Jesus? &c.

About A. D. 324. Euseb. Demonstr. Evan. lib. iii. p. 124.

Certainly the attestation of those I have already produced concerning our Saviour may be sufficient. However, it may not be amiss, if over and above, we make use of Josephus the Jew for a further witness; who, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, when he was writing the history of what happened under Pilate, makes mention of our Saviour in these words: Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as had a veneration for truth; he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had spoken of these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; whence the tribe of christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. If therefore we have this historian's testimony, that he not only brought over to himself the twelve apostles, with the seventy disciples, but many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles also, he must manifestly have had somewhat in him extraordinary above the rest of mankind; for how otherwise could he draw over so many of the Jews and of the Gentiles, unless he performed admirable and amazing works, and used a method of teaching that was not common? Moreover, the scripture of the Acts of the Apostles bears witness, that there were many ten thousands of Jews who were persuaded that he was the Christ of God, who was foretold by the prophets. (Acts, xxi. 20.)

About A. D. 339. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 11.

Now the divine scripture of the gospel makes mention of John the Baptist as having his head cut off by the younger Herod. Josephus also concurs in this history, and makes

mention of Herodias by name, as the wife of his brother, whom Herod had married upon divorcing his former lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabians; and which Herodias he had parted from her husband while he was alive: on which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas, [Aretas made war with him,] because his daughter had been used dishonourably: in which war, when it came to battle, he says that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this because of his wicked contrivance against John. Moreover, the same Josephus, by acknowledging John to have been a most righteous man, and the baptist, conspires in his testimony with what is written in the gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingdom for the sake of the same Herodias, together with whom he himself was condemned to be banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul. And this is his account in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes thus of John *verbatim*: Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John that was called the Baptist, for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and one that commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, for that by this means the washing [with water,] would appear acceptable to him; when they made use of it, not in order to the putting away, [or the remission,] of some sins, [only,] but for the purification of the body, supposing still that the soul were thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when (many) others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly delighted in hearing his words, Herod was afraid that this so great power of persuading men, might tend to some sedition or other, for they seemed to be disposed to do every thing he should advise them to; so he supposed it better to prevent any attempt for a mutation from him by cutting him off, that after any such mutation should be brought about, and the public should suffer, to repent [of such negligence.] Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machaerus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death.—When Josephus had said this of John, he makes mention also of our Saviour in the same history, after this manner: Now there was about this time one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was

a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also; he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And still the tribes of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. And since this writer, sprung from the Hebrews themselves, hath delivered these things above in his own work, concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what room is there for any farther evasion, &c.

Now James was so wonderful a person, and was so celebrated by all others for righteousness, that the judicious Jews thought this to have been the occasion of that siege of Jerusalem, which came on presently after his martyrdom, and that it befell them for no other reason than that impious fact they were guilty of against him. Josephus therefore did not refuse to attest thereto in writing, by the words following: these miseries befell the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called *Christ*, on this account, that they had slain him who was a most righteous person.

The same Josephus declares the manner of his death in the twentieth book of the Antiquities, in these words: Cesar sent Albinus into Judea to be procurator, when he had heard that Festus was dead. Now Ananus junior, who, as we said, had been admitted to the high-priesthood, was in his temper bold and daring in an extraordinary manner. He was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are more savage in judgment than any of the other Jews, as we have already signified. Since therefore this was the character of Ananus, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority,] because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembles the sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*, and some others [of his companions,] and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned: but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those who were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked

what was done. They also sent to the king [Agrippa,] desiring him to send to Ananias that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done could not be justified, &c.

About A. D. 360. Ambrose or Hegesippus de Excid. Urb. Hierosolym. lib. ii. cap. 12.

We have discovered that it was the opinion and belief of the Jews, as Josephus affirms, (who is an author not to be rejected, when he writes against himself,) that Herod lost his army, not by the deceit of men, but by the anger of God, and that justly, as an effect of revenge for what he did to John the Baptist, a just man, who had said to him, *It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.*

The Jews themselves also bear witness to Christ, as appears by Josephus, the writer of their history, who says thus: that there was at that time a wise man, if, says he, it be lawful to have him called a man, a doer of wonderful works, who appeared to his disciples after the third day, from his death, alive again, according to the writings of the prophets, who foretold these and innumerable other miraculous events concerning him; from whom began the congregation of Christians, and hath penetrated among all sorts of men; nor does there remain any nation in the Roman world which continues strangers to his religion. If the Jews do not believe us, let them at least believe their own writers. Josephus, whom they esteem a very great man, hath said this, and yet hath he spoken truth after such a manner, and so far was his mind wandered from the right way, that even he was not a believer as to what he himself said; but thus he spake in order to deliver historical truth, because he thought it not lawful for him to deceive, while yet he was no believer, because of the hardness of his heart, and his perfidious intention. However, it was no prejudice to the truth that he was not a believer, but this adds more weight to his testimony, that while he was an unbeliever, and unwilling this should be true, he has not denied it to be so.

About A. D. 400. Hieronym. de Vir. illustr. in Josepho.

Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, most expressly acknowledges, that Christ was slain by the Pharisees on account of the greatness of his miracles; and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet; and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the apostle:

Now he wrote concerning our Lord after this manner: at the same time there was Jesus, a wise man, if yet it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of those who willingly receive the truth. He had many followers both of the Jews and of the Gentiles; he was believed to be Christ. And when by the envy of our principal men, Pilate had condemned him to the cross, this notwithstanding, those who had loved him at first persevered, for he appeared to them alive on the third day, as the oracles of the prophets had foretold many of these, and other wonderful things concerning him: and the sect of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

About A. D. 410. Isidorus Pelusiotas, the scholar of Chrysostom, lib. vi. epist. 225.

There was one Josephus, a Jew of the greatest reputation, and one that was zealous of the law; one also that paraphrased the Old Testament with truth, and acted valiantly for the Jews, and had showed that their settlement was nobler than can be described by words. Now since he made their interest give place to truth, for he would not support the opinion of impious men, I think it necessary to set down his words. What then does he say? Now there was about that time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, these that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these, and a vast number of other wonderful things concerning him: and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. Now I cannot but wonder greatly at this man's love of truth in many respects, but chiefly where he says, "Jesus was a teacher of men, which received the truth with pleasure."

About A. D. 440. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 1.

Now Josephus, the son of Mattathias, a priest, a man of very great note both among the Jews and the Romans, may well be a witness of credit as to the truth of Christ's history; for he scruples to call him a man, as being a doer of wonderful

works, and a teacher of the words of truth ; he names him *Christ* openly ; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive, and that ten thousand other wonderful things were foretold of him by the divine prophets. He testifies also, that those whom he drew over to him, being many of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews, continued to love him ; and that the tribe named from him was not then extinct. Now he seems to me, by this his relation, almost to proclaim that *Christ* is God. However, he appears to have been so affected with the strangeness of the thing, as to run as it were in a sort of a middle way, so as not to put any indignity upon believers in him, but rather to afford his suffrage to them.

About A. D. 510. Cassiodorus Hist. Tripartit. e Sozomeno.

Now Josephus, the son of Mattathias, and a priest, a man of great nobility among the Jews, and of a great dignity among the Romans, shall be a truth of *Christ's* history : for he dares not call him a man, as a doer of famous works and a teacher of true doctrines ; he names him *Christ* openly ; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive, and that an infinite number of other wonderful things were foretold of him by the holy prophets. Moreover, he testifies also that there were then alive many whom he had chosen, both Greeks and Jews, and that they continued to love him ; and that the sect which was named from him was by no means extinct at that time.

About A. D. 640. Chron. Alex. p. 514.

Now Josephus also relates, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, how John the Baptist, that holy man, was beheaded on account of Herodias, the wife of Philip, the brother of Herod himself ; for Herod had divorced his former wife, who was still alive, and had been his lawful wife : she was the daughter of Aretas, king of Petreans. When therefore Herod had taken Herodias away from her husband, while he was yet alive, [on whose account he slew John also,] Aretas made war against Herod, because his daughter had been dishonourably treated : in which war he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered that calamity because of the wickedness he had been guilty of against John. The same Josephus relates, that Herod lost his kingdom on

account of Herodias, and that with her he was banished to Lyons, &c.

P. 526, 527. Now that our Saviour taught his preaching three years, is demonstrated both by other necessary reasonings, as also out of the holy gospels, and out of Josephus's writings, who was a wise man among the Hebrews, &c.

P. 585, 586. Josephus relates, in the fifth book of the [Jewish] war, that Jerusalem was taken in the third [second] year of Vespasian, as after forty years since they had dared to put Jesus to death: in which time he says, that James, the brother of our Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, was thrown down [from the temple,] and slain of them, by stoning.

About A. D. 740. Anastasias Abbas contr. Jud.

Now Josephus, an author and writer of our own, says of Christ, that he was a just and good man, showed and declared so to be by divine grace, who gave aid to many by signs and miracles.

About A. D. 790. Georgius Syncellus Chron. p. 339.

These miseries befell the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called Christ, on the account that they had slain him, who was a most righteous person. Now as Ananus, a person of that character, thought he had a proper opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road, so he assembles the sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*, and some of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but as for those that seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those that were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to the king [Agrippa,] desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done could not be justified, &c.

About A. D. 850. Johan. Malelala Chron. lib. x.

From that time began the destruction of the Jews, as Josephus, the philosopher of the Hebrews, hath written; who also said this, that from the time the Jews crucified Christ, who was a good and righteous man, (that is, if it be fit to call such an one a man, and not a God,) the land of Judea was

never free from trouble. These things the same Josephus the Jew has related in his writings.

About A. D. 860. Photius Cod. lib. xlviii.

I have read the treatise of Josephus *about the universe*, whose title I have else where read to be, *Of the substance of the universe*. It is contained in two very small treatises. He treats of the origin of the world in a brief manner. However, he speaks of the divinity of Christ, who is our true God, in a way very like to what we use, declaring that the same name of Christ belongs to him, and writes of his ineffable generation of the Father after such a manner as cannot be blamed ; which thing may perhaps raise a doubt in some, whether Josephus were the author of the work, though the phraseology does not at all differ from this man's other works. However, I have found in some papers, that this discourse was not written by Josephus, but by one Caius a presbyter.

Cod. ccxxxviii. Herod the tetrarch of Galilee and of Perea, the son of Herod the Great, fell in love, as Josephus says, with the wife of his brother Herod, whose name was *Herodias*, who was the grand daughter of Herod the Great, by his son Aristobulus, whom he had slain. Agrippa was also her brother. Now Herod took her away from her husband, and married her. This is he that slew John the Baptist, that great man, the forerunner [of Christ,] being afraid (as Josephus says) lest he should raise a sedition among his people ; for they all followed the directions of John, on account of the excellency of his virtue. In his time was the passion of our Saviour.

Cod. xxxiii. I have read the Chronicle of Justus of Tiberias. He omits the greatest part of what was most necessary to be related ; but, as infected with Jewish prejudices, being also himself a Jew by birth, he makes no mention at all of the advent, or of the acts done, or of the miracles wrought by Christ.

The time uncertain. Macarius in Actis Sanctorum, tom. v. p. 149. ap. Fabric. Joseph. p. 61.

Josephus, a priest of Jerusalem, and one that wrote with truth the history of the Jewish affairs, bears witness, that Christ, the true God, was incarnate, and crucified, and the third day rose again ; whose writings are repositied in the public library. Thus he says : now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was

a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure : he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also : this was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And still the tribe of Christains, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. Since, therefore, the writer of the Hebrews has engraven his testimony concerning our Lord and Saviour in his own books, what defence can there remain for unbelievers ?

About A. D. 980, Suidas in voce Jesus.

We have found Josephus, who hath written about the taking of Jerusalem (of whom Eusebius Pamphili makes frequent mention in his ecclesiastical history,) saying openly in his memoirs of the captivity, that Jesus officiated in the temple with the priests. This we have found Josephus saying, a man of ancient times, and not very long after the apostles, &c.

About A. D. 1060. Cedrenus Compend. Histor. p. 196.

Josephus does indeed write concerning John the Baptist as follows : some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that he was punished very justly for what punishment he inflicted on John, that was called the *Baptist*, for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both by righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism. But as concerning Christ, the same Josephus says, that about that time there was Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure, for that Christ drew over many even from the Gentiles ; whom when Pilate had crucified, those who at first had loved him did not leave off to preach concerning him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had testified, and spoken these and other wonderful things concerning him.

About A. D. 1080. Theophylact. in Joan. lib. xiii.

The city of the Jews was taken, and the wrath of God

was kindled against them ; as also Josephus witnesses, that this came upon them on account of the death of Jesus.

About A. D. 1120. Zonarus Annal. tom. i. p. 267.

Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, writes thus concerning our Lord and God Jesus Christ : now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles : he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that had loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him ; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

About A. D. 1120. Glycas Annal. p. 234.

Then did Philo, that wise man, and Josephus flourish. This last was styled, *The lover of truth*, because he commended John, who baptized our Lord ; and because he bore witness that Christ, in like manner, was a wise man, and the doer of great miracles ; and that when he was crucified he appeared the third day.

About A. D. 1240. Godfridus Viterbiensis Chron. p. 366. e Vers. Rufini.

Josephus relates, that a very great war arose between Aretas, king of the Arabians, and Herod, on account of the sin which Herod had committed against John. Moreover, the same Josephus writes thus, concerning Christ : There was, at this time, Jesus a wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as willingly hear truth. He also drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles : he was Christ. And when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified ; those that had loved him from the beginning, did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, according to what the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. Moreover, both the name and sect of chris-

tians, who were named from him, continue in being unto this day.

About A. D. 1360. Nicephoras Callistus Hist. Eccles. lib. i. p. 90, 91.

Now this [concerning Herod the tetrarch] is attested to, not only by the book of the holy gospels, but by Josephus, that lover of truth; who also makes mention of Herodias, his brother's wife, whom Herod had taken away from him, while he was alive, and married her, having divorced his former lawful wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabians. This Herodias he had married, and lived with her: on which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas, because his daughter had been dishonourably used; in which war he relates, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this on account of the most unjust slaughter of John. He also adds, that John was a most righteous man. Moreover he makes mention of his baptism, agreeing in all points thereto relating with the gospel. He also informs us, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, with whom also he was condemned to be banished to Vienna, which was their place of exile, a city bordering upon Gaul, and lying near the utmost bounds of the west.

About A. D. 1450. Hardmanus Schedelius Chron. p. 110.

Josephus, the Jew, who was called *Flavius*, a priest, and the son of Mattathias, a priest of that nation, a most celebrated historian, and very skilful in many things; he was certainly a good man, and of an excellent character, who had the highest opinion of Christ.

About A. D. 1480. Platina de Vitis Pontificum in Christo.

I shall avoid mentioning what Christ did until the thirtieth year of his age, when he was baptized by John, the son of Zacharias, because not only the gospels and epistles are full of those acts of his, which he did in the most excellent and most holy manner, but the books of such as are quite remote from his way of living and acting, and ordaining, are also full of the same. Flavius Josephus himself, who wrote twenty books of the Jewish Antiquities in the Greek tongue, when he had proceeded as far as the government of the emperor of Tiberius, says, There was in those days Jesus, a certain

wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of men, of such especially as willingly hear the truth. On this account, he drew over to him many, both of the Jews and Gentiles; he was Christ. But when Pilate, instigated by the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, yet did not those that had loved him from the beginning forsake him: and, besides, he appeared to them the third day after his death, alive, as the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. And the famous name of *Christians*, taken from him, as well as their sect, do still continue in being.

The same Josephus also affirms, that John the Baptist, a true prophet, and on that account one that was had in esteem by all men, was slain by Herod, the son of Herod the Great, a little before the death of Christ, in the castle Machaerus; not because he was afraid for himself and his kingdom, as the same author says, but because he had incestuously married Herodias, the sister of Agrippa, and the wife of that excellent person his brother Philip.

About A. D. 1480. Trithemius Abbas de Scriptor. Eccles.

Josephus, the Jew, although he continued to be a Jew, did frequently commend the christians; and, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, wrote down an eminent testimony concerning our Lord Jesus Christ.

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OBSERVATIONS

FROM THE FOREGOING EVIDENCE AND CITATIONS.

I. *THE style* of all these original testimonies belonging to Josephus, is exactly the style of the same Josephus, and especially the style about those parts of his Antiquities wherein we find these testimonies. This is denied by nobody, as to the other concerning John the Baptist, and James the Just, and now is become equally undeniable as to that concerning Christ.

II. These testimonies, therefore, being confessedly and undeniably written by Josephus himself, it is next to impos-

sible that he should wholly omit some testimony concerning Jesus Christ ; nay, while his testimonies of John the Baptist, and of James the Just, are so honourable, and give them so great characters, it is also impossible that his testimony concerning Christ should be other than very honourable, or such as afforded him a still greater character also. Could the very same author, who gave such a full and advantageous character of John the Baptist, the forerunner to Jesus of Nazareth, all whose disciples were by him directed to Jesus of Nazareth, as to the true Messias, and all whom became afterwards the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, say nothing honourable of that Jesus of Nazareth himself ; and this in an history of those very times in which he was born, and lived and died, and that while the writer lived but a little after him in the same country in which he was born, and lived and died ? This is almost incredible. And further, could the very same author who gave such an advantageous character of James the Just, and this under the very appellation of *James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ*, which James was one of the principal disciples or apostles of this Jesus Christ, and had been many years the only Christian bishop of the believing Jews of Judea and Jerusalem, in the very days, and in the very country of this writer ; could he, I say, wholly omit any, nay, a very honourable account of Jesus Christ himself, whose disciple and bishop this James most certainly was ? This is almost incredible. Hear what Ittigius, one of the wisest and learnedest of all those who have lately inclined to give up the testimony concerning Christ, as it stands in our copies for spurious, says upon this occasion : “ If any one object to me, that Josephus hath not omitted John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, nor James, the disciple of Christ, and that therefore he could not have done the part of a good historian if he had been entirely silent concerning Christ, I shall freely grant that Josephus was not entirely silent concerning Christ ; nay, I shall further grant, that when Josephus was speaking of Christ, he did not abstain from his commendation ; for we are not to determine from that inveterate hatred which the modern Jews bear to Christ, what was the behaviour of those Jews, upon whom the miracles that were daily wrought by the apostles in the name of Christ imprinted a sacred horror.”

III. The famous clause in this testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, *This was Christ, or the Christ*, did not mean

that this Jesus was the *Christ of God* or the *true Messiah* of the Jews, but that this Jesus was distinguished from all others of that name, of which there were not a few, as mentioned by Josephus himself, by the addition of the other name of *Christ*; or that this person was no other than he whom all the world knew by the name of *Jesus Christ*, and his followers by the name of *Christians*. This I esteem to be a clear case, and that from the arguments following:

(1.) The Greeks and Romans, for whose use Josephus wrote his *Antiquities*, could no otherwise understand these words. The Jews indeed, and afterwards the Christians, who knew that a great Messiah, a person that was to be Christ, the *Anointed of God*, that was to perform the office of a *King*, a *Priest*, and a *Prophet*, to God's people, might readily so understand this expression; but Josephus, as I have already noted, wrote here, not to Jews or Christians, but to Greeks and Romans, who knew nothing of this, but knew very well that an eminent person living in Judea, whose name was *Jesus Chrest*, or *Jesus Christ*, had founded a new and a numerous sect, which took the latter of those names, and were every where from him called *Chrestians*, or *Christians*; in which sense alone could they understand these words of Josephus, and in which sense I believe he desired they should understand them: nor does Josephus ever use the Hebrew term *Messiah*, in any of his writings, nor the Greek term *Christ* in any such acceptation elsewhere.

(2.) Josephus himself as good as explains his own meaning, and that by the last clause of this very passage, where he says the christians were named from this Christ, without a syllable, as though he really meant he was the *true Messiah*, or *Christ of God*. He farther seems to me to explain this his meaning in that other place, where alone he elsewhere mentions this name of Christ, that is, when upon occasion of the mention of James, when he was condemned by Ananus, he calls him the *brother of Jesus*, not that was the *true Messiah*, or the *true Christ*, but only *that was called Christ*.

(3.) It was quite beside the purpose of Josephus to declare himself here to be a christian, or a believer in Jesus as the true Messiah. Had he intended so to do, he would surely have explained the meaning of the word *Christ* to his Greek and Roman readers: he would surely have been a great deal fuller and larger in his accounts of Christ, and of the christian religion: nor would such a declaration at that time have re-

commended him, or his nation, or his writings, to either the Greeks or the Romans; of his reputation with both which people he is known to have been, in the writing of these antiquities, very greatly solicitous.

(4.) Josephus's usual way of writing is historical and declarative of facts, and of the opinions, unless we prudently gather it from what he says historically, or as the opinions of others. This is very observable in the writings of Josephus, and in particular as to what he says of John the Baptist, and of James the Just; so that this interpretation is most probable, as most agreeable to Josephus's way of writing parallel cases.

(5.) This seems to be the universal sense of all the ancients, without exception, who cite this testimony from him; and though they almost every where own this to be the true reading, yet do they every where suppose Josephus to be still an unbelieving Jew, and not a believing christian: nay, Jerom appears so well assured of this interpretation, and that Josephus did not mean to declare any more by these words than a common opinion, that, according to his usual way of interpreting authors, not to the words, but to the sense, (of which we have, I think, two more instances in his accounts out of Josephus, now before us,) he renders this clause *credebatur esse Christus*, i. e. *he was believed to be Christ*. Nor is the parallel expression of Pilate to be otherwise understood, when he made that inscription upon the cross, *This is Jesus the king of the Jews*;* which is well explained by himself elsewhere, and corresponds to the import of the present clause, *What shall I do with Jesus who is called Christ?*† And we may full as well prove from Pilate's inscription upon the cross, that he thereby declared himself a *believer in Christ*, for the *real king of the Jews*, as we can from these words of Josephus, that he hereby declared himself to be a real believer in him, as the true Messiah.

IV. Though Josephus did not design here to declare himself openly to be a christian, yet could he not possibly believe all that he here asserts concerning Jesus Christ, unless he were so far a christian as the Jewish Nazarenes or Ebionites then were, who believed Jesus of Nazareth to be the true Messiah, without believing he was more than a man; who also believed the necessity of the observation of the cere-

* Matth. xxii. 31. —† Ibid. xxvii. 17. 22.

monial law of Moses in order to salvation for all mankind; which were the two main articles of those Jewish christians faith, though in opposition to all the ~~thirteen~~ apostles of Jesus Christ in the first century, and in opposition to the whole catholic church of Christ in the following centuries also. Accordingly, I have elsewhere proved, that Josephus was no other, in his own conscience, than a Nazarene or Ebionite Jewish christian; and have observed that this entire testimony, and all that Josephus says of John the Baptist, and of James, as well as his absolute silence about all the rest of the apostles and their companions, exactly agrees to him under that character and no other. And indeed to me it is most astonishing, that all our learned men, who have of late considered these testimonies of Josephus, except the converted Jew Galatinus, should miss such an obvious and natural observation. We all know this from St. James's* own words, that *so many ten thousands of Jews as believed in Christ*, in the first century, *were all zealous of the ceremonial law*, or were no other than Nazarene or Ebionite christians; and, by consequence, if there were any reason to think our Josephus to be, in any sense, a believer or a christian, as from all these testimonies there were very great ones, all those, and many other reasons, could not but conspire to assure us he was no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite christian: and this I take to be the plain and evident key of this whole matter.

V. Since, therefore, Josephus appears to have been in his own heart and conscience no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite christian, and, by consequence, with them rejected all our Greek gospels and Greek books of the New Testament, and received only the Hebrew gospel of the Nazarenes or Ebionites, styled by them, *The gospel according to the Hebrews*; or, *according to the twelve apostles*; or even, *according to Matthew*, we ought always to have that Nazarene or Ebionite gospel, with the other Nazarene or Ebionite fragments in view, when we consider any passages of Josephus relating to Christ, or to christianity. Thus, since that gospel omitted all that is in the beginning of our St. Matthew's and St. Luke's gospels, and began with the ministry of John the Baptist; in which first parts of the gospel-history are the accounts of the slaughter of the infants, and of the enrolment or taxation under Augustus Cesar and Herod, it is no great wonder that

*Acts xxi. 20.

Josephus has not taken care particularly and clearly to preserve those histories to us. Thus, when we find that Josephus calls James, the brother of Christ, by the name of *James the Just*, and describes him as a *most just or righteous man*, in an especial manner, we are to remember that such is his name and character in the gospel according to the Hebrews, and the other Ebionite remains of Hegesippus, but no where else, that I remember, in the earliest antiquity: nor are we to suppose they herein referred to any other than that *righteousness which was by the Jewish law*, wherein St. Paul,* before he embraced christianity, professed himself to have been *blameless*. Thus, when Josephus, with other Jews, ascribed the miseries of that nation under Vespasian and Titus, with the destruction of Jerusalem, to the barbarous murder of James the Just, we must remember what we learn from the Ebionite fragments of Hegesippus, that these Ebionites interpreted a prophecy of Isaiah as fortelling this very murder, and those consequent miseries: *Let us take away the just one, for he is unprofitable to us; therefore shall they eat the fruit of their own ways.*† Thus, when Josephus says, as we have seen, that the most equitable citizens of Jerusalem, and those that were most zealous of the law, were very uneasy at the condemnation of this James, and some of his friends or fellow-christians, by the high-priest and sanhedrim about *A. D.* 62. and declares, that he himself was one of those Jews who thought the terrible miseries of that nation effects of the vengeance of God for their murder of this James, about *A. D.* 68. we may easily see those opinions could only be the opinions of converted Jews or Ebionites. The high-priest and sanhedrim, who always prosecuted the christians, and now condemned these christians, and the body of those unbelieving Jews, who are supposed to suffer for murdering this James, the head of the Nazarene or Ebionite christians in Judea, could not, to be sure, be of that opinion: nor could Josephus himself be of the same opinion, as he declares he was, without the strongest inclination to the christian religion, or without being secretly a christian Jew, i. e. a Nazarene or Ebionite; which thing is, by the way, a very great additional argument that such he was, and no other. Thus, lastly, when Josephus is cited in Suidas as affirming that Jesus officiated with the priests in the temple, this account is by no means

* Philip iii. 4—6.—† Isaiah iii. 10.

disagreeable to the pretensions of the Ebionites. Hegetippus affirms the very same of James the Just also.

VI. The first citation of the famous testimony concerning our saviour from Tactius, almost all that was true of the Jews is directly taken by him out of Josephus, as will be demonstrated under the third dissertation hereafter.

VII. The second author I have alleged for it is Justin Martyr, one so nearly coeval with Josephus, that he might be born about the time when he wrote his antiquities, appeals to the antiquities by that very name; and though he does not here directly quote them, yet does he seem to me to allude to this very testimony in them concerning our saviour, when he affirms in this place to Trypho the Jew, *That his nation originally knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretell was to happen.* Since there neither now is, nor probably in the days of Justin was any other Jewish testimony extant, which is so agreeable to what Justin here affirms of those Jews, as is this of Josephus the Jew before us; nor indeed does he seem to me to have had any thing else particularly in his view here, but this very testimony, where Josephus says, that *Jesus appeared to his followers alive the third day after his crucifixion, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him.*

VIII. The third author I have quoted for Josephus's testimony of John the Baptist, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of James the Just, is Origen, who is indeed allowed on all hands to have quoted him for the excellent characters of John the Baptist, and of James the Just, but whose supposed entire silence about this testimony concerning Christ is usually alleged as the principal argument against its being genuine, and particularly as to the clause, *This was the Christ*, and that, as we have seen, because he twice assures us, that, in his opinion, *Josephus did not himself acknowledge Jesus for Christ.* Now as to this latter clause, I have already showed, that Josephus did not here, in writing to Greeks and Romans, mean any such thing by those words as Jews and christians naturally understand by them; I have also observed, that all the ancients allow still, with Origen, that Josephus did not, in the Jewish and christian sense, acknowledge Jesus for the true Messiah, or the true Christ of God, notwithstanding their express quotation of that clause in Josephus as genuine; so that unless we suppose Origen to have had a different notion

of these words from all the other ancients, we cannot conclude from this assertion of Origen's, that he had not those words in his copy, not to say that it is, after all, much more likely that his copy a little differed from the other copies in this clause, or indeed omitted it entirely, than that he, on its account, must be supposed not to have had the rest of this testimony therein, though indeed I see no necessity of making any such supposal at all. However, it seems to me, that Origen affords us four several indications that the main parts at least of this testimony itself were in his copy.

(1.) When Origen introduces Josephus's testimony concerning James the Just, that he thought the miseries of the Jews were an instance of divine vengeance on that nation for putting James to death instead of Jesus, he uses an expression no way necessary to this purpose, nor occasioned by any words of Josephus there, that they had slain *that Christ which was foretold in the prophecies*. Whence could this expression come here into Origen's mind, when he was quoting a testimony of Josephus's concerning the brother of Christ, but from his remembrance of a clause in the testimony of the same Josephus concerning Christ *himself*, that *the prophets had foretold his death and resurrection, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him?*

(2.) How came Origen to be so surprised at Josephus's ascribing the destruction of Jerusalem to the Jews murdering of James the Just, and not to their murdering of Jesus, as we have seen he was, if he had not known that Josephus had spoken of Jesus and his death before, and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet he could learn no way so authentically as from this testimony? Nor do the words he here uses, that Josephus was *not remote from the truth*, perhaps allude to any thing else but to this very testimony before us.

(3.) How came the same Origen, upon another slight occasion, when he had just set down that testimony of Josephus concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus who was called *Christ*, to say, that *it may be questioned whether the Jews thought Jesus to be a man, or whether they did not suppose him to be a being of a diviner kind?* This looks so very like to the fifth and sixth clauses of this testimony in Josephus, that *Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man*, that it is highly probable Origen thereby alluded to them: and this is the more to be depended on, because all the unbelieving

Jews, and all the rest of the Nazarene Jews, esteemed Jesus, with one consent, as a *mere man*, the son of Joseph and Mary; and it is not, I think, possible to produce any one Jew but Josephus, who in a sort of compliance with the Romans and the catholic christians, who thought him a *God*, would say any thing like his *being* a *God*.

(4.) How came Origen to affirm twice, so expressly, that *Josephus did not himself own*, in the Jewish and christian sense, that *Jesus was Christ*, notwithstanding his quotations of such eminent testimonies out of him for John the Baptist his forerunner, and for James the Just his brother, and one of his principal disciples? There is no passage in all Josephus so likely to persuade Origen of this as is the famous testimony before us, wherein, as he and all other ancients understood it, he was generally called *Christ* indeed, but not any otherwise than as the common name whence the sect of christians was derived, and where he along speaks of those christians as a sect then in being, whose author was a wonderful person, and his followers great lovers of him and of the truth, yet as *such a sect as he had not joined himself to*: which exposition, as it is a very natural one, so was it, I doubt, but too true of our Josephus at that time; nor can I devise any other reason but this, and the parallel language of Josephus elsewhere, when he speaks of James as the *brother*, not of *Jesus who was Christ*, but of *Jesus who was called Christ*, that could so naturally induce Origen and others to be of that opinion.

IX. There are two remarkable passages in Suidas and Theophylact, already set down, as citing Josephus; the former that *Jesus officiated with the priests in the temple*, and the latter that the destruction of Jerusalem, and miseries of the Jews, were owing to their *putting Jesus to death*, which are in none of our present copies, nor cited thence by any ancients authors, nor indeed do they seem altogether consistent with other more authentic testimonies: however, since Suidas cites his passage from a treatise of Josephus's, called *Memoirs of the Jews' captivity*, a book never heard of elsewhere, and since both citations are not at all disagreeable to Josephus's character as a Nazarene or Ebionite, I dare not positively conclude they are spurious, but must leave them in suspense, for the farther consideration of the learned.

X. As to that great critic Photius, in the ninth century, who is supposed not to have had this testimony in his copy

of Josephus, or else to have esteemed it spurious, because in his extracts out of Josephus's Antiquities it is not expressly mentioned. This is a strange thing indeed! that a section which had been cited out of Josephus's copies all along before the days of Photius, as well as it has been all along cited out of them since his days, should be supposed not to be in his copy, because he does not directly mention it in certain short and imperfect extracts, no way particularly relating to such matters. Those who lay a stress on this silence of Photius seem little to have attended to the nature and brevity of those extracts. They contain little or nothing, as he in effect professes at their entrance, but what concerns Antipater, Herod the great, and his brethren, and family, with their exploits, till the days of Agrippa, *Jun.* and Cumanes, the governor of Judea, fifteen years after the death of our Saviour, without one word of Pilate, or what happened under his government, which yet was the only proper place in which this testimony could come to be mentioned. However, since Photius seems, therefore, as we have seen, to suspect the treatise ascribed by some to Josephus of the universe, because it speaks very high things of the eternal generation and divinity of Christ, this looks very like his knowledge and belief of somewhat really in the same Josephus, which spake in a lower manner of him, which could be hardly any other passage than this testimony before us. And since, as we have seen, when he speaks of the Jewish history of Justus of Tiberias, as infected with the prejudices of the Jews, in taking no manner of notice of the advent, of the acts, and of the miracles of Jesus Christ, while yet he never speaks so of Josephus himself, this most naturally implies also, that there was not the like occasion here as there, but that Josephus had not wholly omitted that advent, those acts, or miracles, which yet he has done every where else, in the books seen by Photius, as well as Justus of Tiberias, but in this famous testimony before us, so that it is most probable Photius not only had this testimony in his copy, but believed it to be genuine also.

XI. As to the silence of Clement of Alexandria, who cites the Antiquities of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, it is no strange thing at all, since he never cites Josephus but once, and that for a point of chronology only, to determine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Josephus, so that his silence may almost as well be alleged against an hundred other re-

markable passages in Josephus's works as against these before us.

XII. Nor does the like silence of Tertullian imply that these testimonies, or any of them, were not in the copies of his age. Tertullian never once hints at any treatises of Josephus's but those against Apion, and that in general only for a point of chronology: nor does it any way appear that Tertullian ever saw any of Josephus's writings besides, and far from being certain that he saw even those. He had particular occasion in his dispute against the Jews to quote Josephus, above any other writer, to prove the completion of the prophecies of the Old Testament in the destruction of Jerusalem, and miseries of the Jews at that time, of which he there discourses, yet does he never once quote him upon that solemn occasion; so that it seems to me, that Tertullian never read either the Greek Antiquities of Josephus, or his Greek books of the Jewish wars; nor is this at all strange in Tertullian, a Latin writer that lived in Africa, by none of which African writers is there any one clause, that I know of, cited out of any of Josephus's writings: nor is it worth my while, in such numbers of positive citations of these clauses, to mention the silence of other later writers, as being here of very small consequence.

DISSERTATION II.



Concerning God's command to Abraham to offer up Isaac his son for a sacrifice.

SINCE this command of God to Abraham* has of late been greatly mistaken by some, who venture to reason about very ancient facts from very modern notions, and this without a due regard to either the customs, or opinions, or circumstances of the times whereto those facts belong, or indeed to the true reasons of the facts themselves; since the mistakes about those customs, opinions, circumstances, and reasons, have of late so far prevailed, that the very same action of Abraham's, which was so celebrated by St. Paul,† St. James,‡ the author of the Hebrews,§ Philo,|| and Josephus,¶ in the first century, and by innumerable others since, as an uncommon instance of signal virtue, of heroic faith in God, and piety towards him; nay, is in the sacred ** history highly commended by the divine *angel of the covenant*, in the name of God himself, and promised to be plentifully rewarded; since this command, I say, is now at last in the eighteenth century become a *stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence* among us, and that sometimes to persons of otherwise good sense, and of a religious disposition of mind also, I shall endeavour to set this matter in its true, i. e. in its ancient and original light, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive. In order whereto we are to consider:

1. That till this very profane age, it has been, I think, universally allowed by all sober persons, who owned themselves the creatures of God, that the Creator has a just right over all his rational creatures, to protract their lives to what length he pleases; to cut them off when and by what instruments he pleases; to afflict them with what sicknesses he pleases; and to remove them from one estate or place in this his great

* Gen. xxii. —† Rom. iv. 16—25. —‡ James ii. 21, 22. —
§ Heb. xi. 17—19. —|| Phil. de Gyant. p. 294. —¶ Jos. Antiq.
B. i. ch. xiii. —** Gen. xxii. 15—18.

palace of the universe to another as he pleases ; and that all those rational creatures are bound in duty and interest to acquiesce under the divine disposal, and to resign themselves up to the good providence of God in all such his dispensations towards them. I do not mean to intimate that God may, or ever does act in these cases after a mere arbitrary manner, or without sufficient reason, believing, according to the whole tenor of natural and revealed religion, that he *hateth nothing that he hath made* ;* that whatsoever he does, how melancholy soever it may appear at first sight to us, is really intended for the good of his creatures, and at the upshot of things, will fully appear so to be ; but that still he is not obliged, nor does in general give his creatures an account of the particular reasons of such his dispensations towards them immediately, but usually tries and exercises their faith and patience, their resignation and obedience, in their present state of probation, and reserves those reasons to the last day, *the day of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God.*†

2. That the entire histories of the past ages, from the days of Adam till now, shows, that Almighty God has ever exercised his power over mankind, and that without giving them an immediate account of the reasons of such his conduct ; and that withall the best and wisest men in all ages, heathens as well as Jews and Christians, Marcus Antonius as well as the patriarch Abraham and St. Paul, have ever humbly submitted themselves to this conduct of the divine providence, and always confessed that they were obliged to the undeserved goodness and mercy of God for every enjoyment, but could not demand any of them of his justice, no, not so much as the continuance of that life whereto those enjoyments appertain. When God was pleased to sweep the wicked race of men away by a flood, the young innocent infants as well as the guilty old sinners ; when he was pleased to shorten the lives of men after the flood, and still downward till the days of David and Solomon ; when he was pleased to destroy impure Sodom and Gomorrah by fire and brimstone from heaven, and to extirpate the main body of the Amorites out of the land of Canaan, as soon as *their iniquities were full*,‡ and in these instances included the young innocent infants, together with the old hardened sinners ; when God was pleased to send an angel, and by him to destroy 185,000 Assyrians, (the num-

* Wisd. xi. 24.—† Rom. ii. 5.—‡ Gen. xv. 16.

ber attested to by Berous the Chaldean, as well as by our own Bibles,) in the days of Hezekiah, most of which seem to have no other peculiar guilt upon them than that common to soldiers in war, of obeying, without reserve, their king Sennacherib, his generals and captains; and when at the plague of Athens, London, or Marseilles, &c. so many thousand righteous men and women, with innocent babes, were swept away on a sudden by a fatal contagion, I do not remember that sober men have complained that God dealt *unjustly* with such his creatures, in those to us seemingly severe dispensations: nor are we certain when any such seemingly severe dispensations are really such, nor do we know but shortening the lives of men may sometimes be the greatest blessing to them, and prevent or put a stop to those courses of gross wickedness which might bring them to greater misery in the world to come: nor is it indeed fit for such poor, weak, and ignorant creatures as we are, in the present state, to call our Almighty, and All-wise, and All-good Creator and Benefactor, to an account on any such occasion; since we cannot but acknowledge, that it is *he that hath made us, and not we ourselves*;* that we are nothing, and have nothing of ourselves, independent on him, but that all we are, all we have, and all we hope for, is derived from him, from his free and undeserved bounty: which therefore he may justly take from us in what way he pleases, and whensoever he pleases; all wise and good men still saying in such cases with the pious Psalmist, xxxix. 9. *I was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it*; and with patient Job, i. 21. ii. 40. *Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall not we receive evil? The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.* If therefore this shortening, or taking away the lives of men be no objection against any divine command for that purpose, it is full as strong against the present system of the world, against the conduct of divine providence in general, and against natural religion, which is founded on the justice of that providence, and is no way peculiar to revealed religion, or to the fact of Abraham now before us: nor in this case much different from what was soon after the days of Abraham thoroughly settled, after Job's and his friends debates, by the inspiration of Alihu, and the determination of God himself, where the divine providence was at length thorough-

* Psalm c. 3.

ly cleared and justified before all the world, as it will be, no question, more generally cleared and justified at the final judgment.

3. That, till this profane age, it has also, I think, been universally allowed by all sober men, that a command of God, when sufficiently made known to be so, is abundant authority for the taking away the life of any person whomsoever. I doubt both ancient and modern princes, generals of armies, and judges, even those of the best reputation also, have ventured to take many men's lives away upon much less authority: nor indeed do the most skeptical of the moderns care to deny this authority directly; they rather take a method of objecting somewhat more plausible, though it amount to much the same: they say, that the apparent disagreement of any command to the moral attributes of God, such as this of the slaughter of an only child seems plainly to be, will be a greater evidence that such a command does not come from God, than any pretended revelation can be that it does. But as to this matter, though the divine revelations have so long ceased, that we are not well acquainted with the manner of conveying such revelation with certainty to men, and by consequence the apparent disagreement of a command with the moral attributes of God, ought at present, generally, if not constantly, to deter men from acting upon such a pretended revelation, yet was there no such uncertainty in the days of the old prophets of God, or of Abraham, *the friend of God*,* who are ever found to have had an entire certainty of those their revelations: and what evidently shows they were not deceived; is this, that the events and consequences of things afterward always corresponded, and secured them of the truth of such divine revelations. Thus the first miraculous voice from heaven,† calling to Abraham not to execute this command, and the performance of those eminent promises made by the second voice,‡ on account of his obedience to that command, are demonstrations that Abraham's commission for what he did was truly divine, and an entire justification of his conduct in this matter. The words of the first voice from heaven will come hereafter to be set down in a fitter place, but the glorious promises made to Abraham's obedience by the second voice, must here be produced from verse 15, 16, 17, 18. *And the angel of the Lord called unto Abra-*

* Isaiah xli. 8.—† Gen. xxi. 11, 12.—‡ Gen. xxi. 17, 18.

ham out of heaven the second time, and said, *By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies: and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voice.* Every one of which promises have been eminently fulfilled; and, what is chiefly remarkable, the last and principal of them, that in *Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed*, was never promised till this time. It had been twice promised him, chap. xii. ver. 3. and xviii. 18. that *in himself should all the families of the earth be blessed*; but that this blessing was to belong to future times, and to be bestowed by the means of one of his late posterity, the *Messias*, that great *seed* and *son* of *Abraham* only, was never revealed before, but on such an amazing instance of his faith and obedience as was this his readiness to offer up his only begotten son *Isaac*, was now first promised, and has been long ago performed, in the birth of *Jesus of Nazareth, the son of David, the son of Abraham*,* which highly deserves our observation in this place: nor can we suppose that any thing else than clear conviction that this command came from God, could induce so good a man, and so tender a father as *Abraham* was, to sacrifice his own beloved son, and to lose thereby all the comfort he received from him at present, and all the expectation he had of a numerous and happy posterity from him hereafter.

4. That, long before the days of *Abraham*, the *dæmons*, or heathen gods, had required and received human sacrifices, and particularly that of the offerer's own children, and this both before and after the deluge. This practice has been indeed so long left off in *Egypt*, and the custom of sacrificing animals there was confined to so few kinds in the days of *Herodotus*, that he would not believe they had ever offered human sacrifices at all: for he says,† That the fable, “as if *Hercules* was sacrificed to *Jupiter* in *Egypt*, was feigned by the *Greeks*, who were entirely unacquainted with the nature of the *Egyptians* and their laws; for how should they sacrifice men with whom it is unlawful to sacrifice any brute beast? (boars, and bulls, and pure calves, and ganders, only excepted.”) However, it is evident from *Sanchoniatho*, Ma-

* Matth. i. 1.—† Ap. Marsh. Chron. p. 303.

netho, Pausanias, Diodorus Siculus, Philo, Plutarch, and Porphyry, that such sacrifices were frequent both in Phœnicia and Egypt, and that long before the days of Abraham, as Sir John Marsham and Bishop Cumberland have fully proved; nay, that in other places, (though not in Egypt,) this cruel practice continued long after Abraham, and this till the very third, if not also to the fifth century of christianity, before it was quite abolished. Take the words of the original authors in English, as most of them occur in their originals in Sir John Marsham's *Chronicon*, p. 76—78, 300—304.

“Cronus,* offered up his only begotten son, as a burnt-offering, to his father Ouranus, when there was a famine and a pestilence.”

“†Cronus, whom the Phœnicians name *Israel*, (it should be *Il*,) and who was after his death consecrated into the star Saturn, when he was king of the country, and had, by a nymph of that country, named *Anobret*, an only begotten son, whom, on that account, they called *Jeud*, (the Phœnicians to this day calling an only begotten son by that name,) he, in his dread of very great dangers that lay upon the country from war, adorned his son with royal apparel, and built an altar and offered him in sacrifice.

“The ‡ Phœnicians, when they were in great dangers by war, by famine, or by pestilence, sacrificed to Saturn one of the dearest of their people, whom they chose by public suffrage for that purpose: and Sanchoniatho's Phœnician history is full of such sacrifices. [These hitherto I take to have been before the flood.]”

“In Arabia, the Dumatii sacrificed a child every year.”§

“|| They relate, that of old, the [Egyptian] king sacrificed such men as were of the same colour with Typho, at the sepulchre of Osiris.”

“¶ Menetho relates, that they burnt Typhonean men alive in the city Idithyia, [or Ilithyia,] and scattered their ashes like chaff that is winnowed; and this was done publicly, and at a set season, in the dog-days.”

“** The barbarous nations did a long time admit of the slaughter of children, as of an holy practice, and acceptable to the gods. And this thing both private persons, and kings, and entire nations practise at proper seasons.”

* Philo. Bib. ex Sanchon. p. 76.—† Ibid. p. 77.—‡ Porphyry, p. 77.—§ Porphyry, p. 77.—|| Diod. p. 78.—¶ Plutarch, p. 78.—** Nonnulli ap. Philon, p. 76.

"* The human sacrifices that were enjoined by the Dodonean oracle, mentioned in Pausanias's Achaïcs, in the tragical story of Croesus and Callirrhoe, sufficiently intimate that the Phœnician and Egyptian priests had set up this Dodonean oracle before the time of Amosis, who destroyed that barbarous practice in Egypt."

————— *Isque adytis hæc tristia dicta reportat,
Sanguine placastis ventos, et virgine caesa,
Cum primum Iliacas Danaï venistis ad oras ;
Sanguine quaerendi reditus, animaue litandum
Argolica.†*

————— He from the gods this dreadful answer brought,
O Grecians, when the Trojan shores you sought,
Your passage with a virgin's blood was bought ;
So must your safe return be bought again,
And Grecian blood once more atone the main.

DRYDEN.

These bloody sacrifices were, for certain instances of the greatest degree of impiety, tyranny, and cruelty, in the world, that either wicked dæmons, or wicked men, who neither made, nor preserved mankind, who had therefore no right over them, nor were they able to make them amends in the next world for what they thus lost or suffered in this, should, after so inhuman a manner, command the taking away the lives of men, and particularly of the officer's own children, without the commission of any crime. This was, I think, an abomination derived from him who was a murderer from the beginning ; a crime truly and properly diabolical.

5. That, accordingly, Almighty God himself, under the Jewish dispensation, vehemently condemned the Pagans, and sometimes the Jews themselves for this crime ; and for this, among other heinous sins, cast the idolatrous nations (nay sometimes the Jews too) out of Palestine. Take the principal texts hereto relating, as they lie in order in the Old Testament.

"δ Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech. Defile not yourselves in any of these things, for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you," &c.

"|| Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed

* Cumberl. Sachon. p. 378.—† Virg. Æneid, B. ii. ver. 115.
—† John viii. 44.—† Lev. xviii. 21, 24.—|| Lev. xx. 2.

unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death: the people of the land shall stone him with stones."

"* Take heed to thyself, that thou be not snared by following the nations, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God; for every abomination of the Lord, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters have they burnt in the fire to their gods." See chap. xviii. 10. 2 Kings xvii. 17.

"† And Ahaz made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out from before the children of Israel."

"‡ Moreover, Ahaz burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children [his son in Josephus] in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel."

"§ And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim," &c.

"|| And Josiah defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech."

"¶ Yea they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto demons; and shed innocent blood, the blood of their sons and their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood." See Isaiah lvii. 5.

"** The children of Judah hath done evil in my sight, saith the Lord; they have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name, to pollute it: and they have built the high places of Topheth, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, nor came it into my heart."

"†† Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, behold I will bring evil upon this place, the which whosoever heareth his ears shall tingle, because they have forsaken me, and have estranged this place, and have burnt incense unto

* Deut. xii. 30, 31.—† 2 Kings xvi. 3.—‡ 2 Chron. xxviii. 3.—§ 2 Kings xvii. 31.—|| 2 Kings xxiii. 10.—¶ Psalm xvi. 37, 38.—** Jer. vii. 30—32.—†† Jer. xix. 3—5.

other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers have known, nor the kings of Judah, and have filled this place with the blood of innocents. They have built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind, &c.”

“* They built the high places of Baal, which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my mind that they should do this abomination, to cause Judah to sin.”

“† Moreover, thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast borne unto me, and these hast thou sacrificed unto them to be devoured. Is this of thy whoredoms a small matter, that thou hast slain my children, and delivered them to cause them to pass through the fire for them?” See ch. xx. 26. 1. Cor. x. 20.

“‡ Thou hatest the old inhabitants of thy holy land for doing most odious works of witchcraft, and wicked sacrifices; and also those merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man’s flesh, and feasts of blood, with their priests, out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents that killed with their own hands souls destitute of help.”

6. That Almighty God never permitted, in any one instance, that such a human sacrifice should actually be offered to himself, (though he had a right to have required it, if he had so pleased,) under the whole Jewish dispensation, which yet was full of many other kinds of sacrifices, and this at a time when mankind generally thought such sacrifices of the greatest virtue for the procuring pardon of sin, and the divine favour. This the ancient records of the heathen world attest. Take their nation in the words of Philo Byblius, the translator of Sanchoniatho. § “It was the custom of the ancients, in the greatest calamities and dangers, for the governors of the city or nation, in order to avert the destruction of all, to devote their beloved son to be slain, as a price of redemption to the punishing or avenging dæmons; and those so devoted were killed after a mystical manner.” This the history of the king of Moab, || when he was in great distress in his war against Israel and Judah, informs us of; who then

* Jer. xxx. 35.—† Ezek. xvi. 20, 21.—‡ Wisd. xii. 4. 6.—
§ Ap. Marsh. p. 76, 77.—|| 2 Kings iii. 27.

took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the city wall. This also the Jewish prophet Micah implies, when he inquires, Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the High God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, with ten thousands of fat kids of the goats? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? No, certainly; for he hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to humble thyself, to walk with thy God?*

It is true, God did here try the faith and obedience of Abraham to himself, whether they were as strong as the Pagans exhibited to their dæmons or idols; yet did he withall take effectual care, and that by a miraculous interposition also, to prevent the execution, and provided himself a ram as a vicarious substitute, to supply the place of Isaac immediately. † *And the Angel of the Lord called unto Abraham, and said, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I: And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold a ram caught in a thicket by his horns; and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son.* Thus Jephtha ‡ has by many been thought to have vowed to offer up his only daughter and child for a sacrifice, and that as bound on him, upon supposition of his vow, by a divine law, Lev. xxvii. 28, 29. of which opinion I was once myself; yet upon more mature consideration I have, for some time, thought this to be a mistake, and that his vow extended only to her being devoted to serve God at the tabernacle, or elsewhere, in a state of perpetual virginity; and that neither that law did enjoin any human sacrifices, nor do we meet with any example of its execution in this sense afterwards. Philo never mentions any such law, no more than Josephus: and when Josephus thought that Jephtha had made such a vow, and executed it, he is so far from hinting at its being done in compliance with any law of God, that he expressly condemns him for it, as having acted contrary thereto; or, in his own

* Micah vi. 6—8.—† Gen. xxii. 11—13.—‡ Judges xi. 36—39;

words,* “as having offered an oblation neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, nor weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice.”

7. That Isaac being at this time, according to Josephus,† who is herein justly followed by Archb. Usher,‡ no less than twenty-five years of age, and Abraham being, by consequence, one hundred and twenty-five, it is not to be supposed that Abraham could bind Isaac, in order to offer him in sacrifice, but by his own free consent; which free consent of the party who is to suffer seems absolutely necessary in all such cases: and which free consent St. Clement, as well as Josephus, distinctly takes notice of on this occasion. St. Clement describes it thus: § “Isaac being fully persuaded of what he knew was to come, cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice.” And for Josephus,|| after introducing Abraham in a pathetic speech, laying before Isaac the divine command, and exhorting him patiently and joyfully to submit to it, he tells us, that “Isaac very cheerfully consented;” and then introduces him in a short, but very pious answer, acquiescing in the proposal; and adds, that “he then immediately and readily went to the altar to be sacrificed.” Nor did Jephtha¶ perform his rash vow, whatever it were, till his daughter had given her consent to it.

8. It appears to me that Abraham never despaired entirely of the interposition of providence for the preservation of Isaac, although in obedience to the command he prepared to sacrifice him to God. This seems to me intimated in Abraham’s words to his servants, on the third day, when he was in sight of the mountain on which he was to offer his son Isaac, *We will go and worship, and we will come again to you.* As also in his answer to his son, when he inquired, *Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering? And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering.* Both these passages look to me somewhat like such an expectation. However,

9. It appears most evident, that Abraham, and I suppose Isaac also, firmly believed; that if God should permit Isaac to be actually slain as a sacrifice, he would certainly and speedily raise him again from the dead. This, to be sure, is supposed in the words already quoted, that *he and his son would*

* Antiq. B. v. 7—10.—† Antiq. B. i. chap. ii.—‡ Ush. Anal. ad A. M. 2133.—§ 1 Clem. sec. 31.—|| Antiq. B. i. chap. xiii. sec. 3.—¶ Judges xi. 36, 37.

go and worship, and come again to the servants ; and is clearly and justly collected from this history by the author to the Hebrews, chap. xi. 17—19. *By faith Abraham when he was tried offered up Isaac ; and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten, of whom it was said, that in Isaac shall thy seed be called, accounting or reasoning that God was able to raise him from the dead.* And this reasoning was at once very obvious, and wholly undeniable, that since God was truth itself, and had over and over promised that he would * multiply Abraham exceedingly ; that he should be a father of many nations ; that his name should be no longer Abram, but Abraham, because a father of many nations God had made him, &c. that Sarai his wife should be called Sarah ; that he would bless her, and give Abraham a son also of her, and that he would bless him ; and she should become a mother of nations, and kings of people should be of her, &c. ; and that † in Isaac should his seed be called. And since withall it is here supposed, that Isaac was to be slain as a sacrifice, before he was married, or had any seed, God was, for certain, obliged by his promises, in these circumstances, to raise Isaac again from the dead : and this was an eminent instance of that *faith* whereby † Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness, viz. that if God should permit Isaac to be sacrificed, he would certainly and quickly raise him up again from the dead, & from whence also he received him in a figure, as the author to the Hebrews here justly observes.

10. That the firm and just foundation of Abraham's faith and assurance in God for such a resurrection was this, besides the general consideration of the divine veracity, that during the whole time of his sojourning in strange countries, in Canaan and Egypt, ever since he had been called out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia, at seventy-five years of age, he had ¶ had constant experience of a special, of an over-ruling, of a kind and gracious providence over him, till this his 125th year, which against all human views had continually blessed him and enriched him, and in his elder age had given him first Ishmael by Hagar, and afterwards promised him Isaac to ** spring from his own body now dead, †† and from the deadness of Sarah's womb, when she was past age, and when it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women, †† and had actually

* Gen. xvii. 2—6, 16.—† Gen. xxi. 12.—‡ Gen. xv. 6.—
 § Heb. xi. 19.—|| Gen. xii. 4.—** Rom. iv. 19.—†† Heb. xi. 11.—†† Gen. xviii. 11.

performed that and every other promise, how improbable soever that performance had appeared, he had ever made to him, and this during fifty entire years together; so that, although at his first exit out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia, he might have been tempted to *stagger at such a promise of God through unbelief*,* yet might he now after fifty years constant experience be justly *strong in faith, giving glory to God, as being fully persuaded, that what God had promised, the resurrection of Isaac, he was both able and willing to perform.*

11. That this assurance therefore, that God, if he permitted Isaac to be slain, would infallibly raise him again from the dead, entirely alters the state of the case of Abraham's sacrificing Isaac to the true God, from that of all other human sacrifices whatsoever offered to false ones, all those others being done without the least promise or prospect of such a resurrection; and this indeed takes away all pretence of injustice of the divine command, as well as of all inhumanity or cruelty in Abraham's obedience to it.

12. That, upon the whole, this command to Abraham, and what followed on it, looks so very like an intention of God to typify or represent beforehand in Isaac, *a beloved, or only begotten son*, what was to happen long afterward to the great son and seed of Abraham, the Messiah, the beloved and the only begotten of the Father, whose day Abraham saw by faith beforehand, and rejoiced to see it,† viz. that he by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God should be crucified, and slain‡ as a sacrifice, and should be raised again the third day, and this at Jerusalem also; and that, in the mean time, God would accept of the sacrifices of rams and the like animals, at the same city Jerusalem, that one cannot easily avoid the application. This seems the reason why Abraham was obliged to go to the land of Moriah, or Jerusalem; and why it is noted, that it was *the third day* § that he came to the place, which implies that the return back, after the slaying of the sacrifice, would naturally be *the third day* also; and why this sacrifice was not Ishmael the son of the flesh only, but Isaac the son by promise, the beloved son of Abraham; and why Isaac was styled the *only son*, or *only begotten son* of Abraham, though he had Ishmael besides; and why Isaac himself was to *bear the wood* || on which he was to be sacrificed;¶ and why the place was no other than *the land of Moriah*,** or vision,

* Rom. iv. 20, 21.—† John viii. 56.—‡ Act. ii 38.—§ Gen. xxii. 2, 4.—|| Heb. xi. 17.—¶ Gen. xxii. 6.—** John xix. 17.

i. e. most probably a place where the Shecinah or Messiah had been *seen*, and God by him worshipped, even before the days of Abraham, and where lately lived, and perhaps now lived, Melchizedec, the grand type of the Messiah, (who might then possibly be present at the sacrifice;) and why this sacrifice was to be offered either on the mountain called afterward distinctly *Moriah*, where the temple stood, and where all the Mosaic sacrifices were afterward to be offered, as Josephus* and the generality suppose, or perhaps, as others suppose, that where the Messiah himself was to be offered, its neighbour mount Calvary. This seems also the reason why the ram was substituted as a vicarious sacrifice instead of Isaac. These circumstances seem to me very peculiar and extraordinary, and to render the present hypothesis extremely probable. Nor perhaps did St. Clement mean any thing else, when, in his forecited passage, he says, that "Isaac was fully persuaded of what he knew was to come," and therefore "cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice." Nor indeed does that name of this place, *Jehovah Jireh*, which continued till the days of Moses, and signified, *God will see*, or rather, *God will provide*, seem to be given it by Abraham, on any other account, than that God would there, in the fullness of time, *provide himself a lamb* [that † *lamb of God, which was to take away the sins of the world*] *for a burnt-offering*.

But now, if after all it be objected, that how peculiar and how typical soever the circumstances of Abraham and Isaac might be in themselves, of which the heathens about them could have little notion, yet such a divine command to Abraham for slaying his beloved son Isaac, must however be of very ill example to the Gentile world, and that it probably did either first occasion, or at least greatly encourage their wicked practices, in offering their children for sacrifices to their idols, I answer by the next consideration :

13. That this objection is so far from truth, that God's public and miraculous prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, (which command itself the Gentiles would not then at all be surprised at, because it was so like to their own usual practices,) as well as God's substitution of a vicarious oblation, seem to have been the very occasion of the immediate *abolition* of those impious sacrifices by Tethmosis, or Amosis, among the neighbouring Egyptians, and of the *substitution* of more inoffensive ones there instead of

* Antiq. B. i. cap. xiii, sec. 2.—† John i. 29.

them. Take the account of this abolition, which we shall presently prove was about the time of Abraham's offering up his son Isaac, as it is preserved by Porphyry, from Manetho, the famous Egyptian historian and chronologer, which is also cited from Porphyry by Eusebius and Theodorit: " * Amosis, says Porphyry, abolished the law for slaying men in Heliopolis of Egypt, as Manetho bears witness in his book of antiquity and piety. They were sacrificed to Juno, and were examined, as were the pure calves that were also sealed with them: they were sacrificed three in a day. In whose stead Amosis commanded that men of wax of the same number should be substituted."

Now I have lately shown, that these Egyptians had Abraham in great veneration, and that *all the wisdom of those Egyptians in which Moses was afterwards learned*, was derived from no other than from Abraham. Now it appears evidently by the fore-cited passage, that the first abolition of these human sacrifices, and that the substitution of waxen images in their stead, and particularly at Heliopolis, in the north-east part of Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Beersheba, in the south of Palestine, where Abraham now lived, at the distance of about one hundred and twenty miles only, was in the days, and by the order of Tethmosis or Amosis, who was the first of the Egyptian kings, after the expulsion of the Phœnician shepherds. Now therefore we are to inquire when this Tethmosis or Amosis lived, and compare his time with the time of the sacrifice of Isaac. Now if we look into my chronological table, published *A. D.* 1721, we shall find that the hundred and twenty-fifth year of Abraham, or, which is all one, the twenty-fifth year of Isaac, falls into *A. M.* 2573, or into the thirteenth year of Tethmosis or Amosis, which is the very middle of his twenty-five years reign; so that this abolition of human sacrifices in Egypt, and substitution of others in their room, seems to have been occasioned by the solemn prohibition of such a sacrifice in the case of Abraham, and by the following substitution of a ram in its stead: which account of this matter not only takes away the groundless suspicions of the moderns, but shows the great seasonableness of the divine prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, as probably the direct occasion of putting a stop to the barbarity of the Egyptians in offering human sacrifices, and that for many, if not for all generations afterward.

* Marsh, p. 301.

DISSERTATION III.

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Tacitus's account of the origin of the Jewish nation, and of the particulars of the last Jewish War, that the former was probably written in opposition to Josephus's antiquities; and that the latter was for certain almost all directly taken from Josephus's History of the Jewish War.

SINCE Tacitus, the famous Roman historian, who has written more largely and professedly about the origin of the Jewish nation, about the chorography of Judea, and the last Jewish war under Cestius, Vespasian, and Titus, than any other old Roman historian; and since both Josephus and Tacitus were in favour with the same Roman emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and since Tacitus was an eminent pleader and writer of history at Rome, during the time or not long after our Josephus had been there studying the Greek language, reading the Greek books, and writing his own works in the same Greek language, which language was almost universally known at Rome in that age; and since, therefore, it is next to impossible to suppose that Tacitus could be unacquainted with the writings of Josephus, it cannot but be highly proper to compare their accounts of Judea, of the Jews, and Jewish affairs together. Nor is it other than a very surprising paradox to me, how it has been possible for learned men, particularly for the several learned editors of Josephus and Tacitus, to be so very silent about this matter as they have hitherto been, especially when not only the correspondence of the authors as to time and place, but the likeness of the subject-matter and circumstances is so very often, so very remarkable; nay indeed, since many of the particular facts belonged peculiarly to the region of Judea, and to the Jewish nation, and are such as could hardly be taken by a foreigner from any other author than from our Josephus, this strange silence is almost unaccountable, if not inexcusable. The two only other writers whom we know of when such Jewish affairs might be supposed to be taken by Tacitus, who never appears to be in Judea himself, are

Justus of Tiberias, a Jewish historian, contemporary with Josephus, and one Antonius Julianus, once mentioned by Minutius Felix in his Octavius, § 33. as having written on the same subject with Josephus, and both already mentioned by me on another occasion, Dissert. I. As to Justus of Tiberias, he could not be the historian whence Tacitus took his Jewish affairs, because, as we have seen, in the place just cited, the principal passage in Tacitus of that nature, concerning Christ, and his sufferings under the emperor Tiberius, and by his procurator Pontius Pilate, was not there, as we know from the testimony of Photius, Cod. xxx. And as to Antonius Julianus, his very name shows him not to have been a Jew but a Roman. He is never mentioned by Josephus, and so probably knew no more of the country, or affairs of Judea, than Tacitus himself. He was, I suppose, rather an epitomiser of Josephus, and not so early as Tacitus, than an original historian himself before him. Nor could so exact a writer as Tacitus ever take up with such poor and almost unknown historians as these were, while Josephus's Seven Books of the Jewish War were then so common; were in such great reputation at Rome; were attested to, and recommended by Vespasian and Titus the emperors, by king Agrippa, and king Archelaus, and Herod, king of Chalcis; and he was there honoured with a statue: and these his books were deposited at the public library at Rome, as we know from Josephus himself, Eusebius, and Jerom, while we never hear of any other history of the Jews that had then and there any such attestations or recommendations. Some things indeed Tacitus might take from the Roman records of this war, I mean from the commentaries of Vespasian, which are mentioned by Josephus himself, in his own life, § 65. vol. iv. and some others from the relations of Roman people, where the affairs of Rome were concerned; as also other affairs might be remembered by old officers and soldiers that had been in the Jewish war. Accordingly, I still suppose that Tacitus had some part of his information these ways, and particularly where he a little differs from, or makes additions to Josephus: but then, as this will all reach no further than three or four years during this war, so will it by no means account for that abridgment of the geography of the country, and entire series of the principal facts of history thereto relating, which are in Tacitus, from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, two hundred and forty years before that war, with which Antio-

thus both Josephus and Tacitus begin their distinct history of the Jews, preparatory to the history of the late war. Nor could Tacitus take the greatest part of those earlier facts belonging to the Jewish nation from the days of Moses, or to Christ and the christians in the days of Tiberius, from Roman authors; of which Jewish and christian affairs those authors had usually very little knowledge, and which the heathen generally did grossly pervert and shamefully falsify; and this is so true as to Tacitus's own account of the origin of the Jewish nation, that the reader may almost take it for a constant rule, that when Tacitus contradicts Josephus's Jewish Antiquities, he either tells direct falsehoods, or truths so miserably disguised as renders them little better than falsehoods, and hardly ever light upon any thing relating to them that is true and solid, but when the same is in those antiquities at this day; of which matters more will be said in the notes on his history immediately following.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

BOOK V.—CHAP. II.

SINCE we are now going to relate the final period of this famous city, [Jerusalem,] it seems proper to give an account of its original.*—The tradition is, that the Jews ran away from the island of Crete, and settled themselves on the coast of Lybia, and this at that time when Saturn was driven out of his kingdom by the power of Jupiter: an argument for it is fetched from their name. The mountain Ida is famous in Crete; and the neighbouring inhabitants are named *Idaei*, which, with a barbarous augment, becomes the name of *Judaei* [Jews.] Some say they were a people that were very numerous in Egypt under the reign of Isis, and that the Egyptians got free from that burden by sending them into the adjoining countries, under their captains Hierosolymus and Judas. The greatest part say, they were those Ethiopians whom fear and hatred obliged to change their habitations in the reign of king Cepheus.† There are those which

* Most of these stories are so entirely groundless, and so contradictory to one another, that they do not deserve a serious confutation. It is strange Tacitus could persuade himself thus cruelly to set them down.

† One would wonder how Tacitus, or any heathen, could suppose the African Ethiopians under Cepheus, who are known to be blacks, could be the parents of the Jews, who are known to be whites.

report they were Assyrians, who wanting lands, got together, and obtained part of Egypt, and soon afterward settled themselves in cities of their own, in the lands of the Hebrews, and the parts of Syria that lay nearest to them.* Others pretended their origin to be more eminent, and that the Solymi, a people celebrated in Homer's poems, were the founders of this nation, and give this, their own name, Hierosolyma, to the city which they built there†.

CHAP. III. Many authors agree, that when once an infectious distemper was arisen in Egypt, and made men's bodies impure, Bocchoris, their king, went to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon, and begged he would grant him some relief against this evil, and that he was enjoined to purge his nation of them, and to banish this kind of men into other countries, as hateful to the gods.‡ That when he had sought for, and gotten them all together, they were left in a vast desert; that hereupon the rest devoted themselves to weeping and inactivity; but one of those exiles, *Moses* by name, advised them to look for no assistance from any of the gods, or from any of mankind, since they had been abandoned by both, but bade them believe in him, as in a celestial leader,§ by whose help they had already gotten clear of their present miseries. They agreed to it; and though they were unacquainted with every thing, they began their journey at random; but nothing tired them so much as want of water; and now they laid themselves down on the ground to a great extent, as just ready to perish, when an herd of wild asses came from feeding, and went to a rock overshadowed by a grove of trees. Moses followed them, as conjecturing that there was [thereabouts] some grassy soil, and so opened large sources of water for them.|| That was an ease to them;

* This account comes nearest the truth; and this Tacitus might have from Josephus, only disguised by himself.

† This Tacitus might have out of Josephus. *Antiq. B. vii. ch. iii. sec. 2.*

‡ Strange doctrine to Josephus! who truly observes on this occasion, that gods are angry not at bodily imperfections, but at wicked practices. *Apion, B. i. § 28. vol. vi.*

§ This believing in Moses as in a *celestial leader*, seems a blind confession of Tacitus that Moses professed to have his laws from God.

|| This looks also like a plain confession of Tacitus's, that Moses brought the Jews water out of a rock in great plenty, which he might have from Josephus. *Antiq. B. iii. ch. i. § 7.*

and when they had journeyed continually* six entire days, on the seventh they drove out the inhabitants, and obtained those lands wherein their city and temple were dedicated.

CHAP. IV. As for Moses, in order to secure the nation firmly to himself, he ordained new rites, and such as were contrary to those of other men. All things are with them profane which with us are sacred; and again, those practices are allowed among them which are by us esteemed most abominable.†

They place the image of that animal in their most holy place, by whose indication it was that they had escaped their wandering condition and their thirst.‡

They sacrifice rams by way of reproach, to [Jupiter] Hammon. An ox is also sacrificed, which the Egyptians worship under the name of *Apis*.§

They abstain from swine's flesh, as a memorial of that miserable destruction which the mange, to which that creature is liable, brought on them, and with which they had been defiled.||

That they had endured a long famine, they attest still by their frequent fastings.¶ And that they stole the fruits of the earth, we have an argument from the bread of the Jews, which is unleavened.**

It is generally supposed they rest on the †† seventh day, because that day gave them [the first] rest from their labours.

* Strange indeed! that 600,000 men should travel above 200 miles over the deserts of Arabia in six days, and conquer Judea the seventh.

† This is not true in general, but only so far, that the Israelites were by circumcision and other rites to be kept separate from the wicked and idolatrous nations about them.

‡ This strange story contradicts what the same Tacitus will tell us presently, that when Pompey went into the holy of holies he found no image there.

§ These are only guesses of Tacitus, or his heathen authors, but no more.

|| Such memorials of what must have been very reproachful, are strangers to the rest of mankind, and without any probability.

¶ The Jews had but one solemn fast of old in the whole year, the great day of expiation.

** Unleavened bread was only used at the passover.

†† It is very strange that Tacitus should not know or confess that the Jews' seventh day, and seventh year of rest, were in the memory of the seventh or sabbath-day's rest, after the six days of creation. Every Jew, as well as every christian, could have informed him of those matters.

Besides which, they are idle on every* seventh year, as being pleased with a lazy life. Others say, that they do honour thereby to † Saturn; or perhaps the Idæi gave them this part of their religion, [as we said above,] were expelled together with Saturn, and who, as we have been informed, were the founders of this nation; or else it was because the star Saturn moves in the highest orb, and of the seven planets exerts the principal part of that energy whereby mankind are governed: and indeed the most of the heavenly bodies exert their power, and perform their courses according to the number seven.‡

CHAP. V. These rites, by what manner soever they were first begun, are supported by their antiquity.§ The rest of their institutions are || awkward, impure, and got ground by their pravity: for every vile fellow, despising the rites of his forefathers, brought thither their tribute and contributions, by which means the Jewish commonwealth was augmented. And because among themselves there is an unalterable fidelity and kindness always ready at hand, but bitter enmity towards all others,¶ they are a people separated from others in their food, and in their beds; though they be the lowliest nation upon earth,** yet will they not corrupt so-

* A strange hypothesis of the origin of the sabbatic year, and without all good foundation: Tacitus probably had never heard of the Jews' year of *jubilee*, so he says nothing of it.

† As if the Jews, in the days of Moses, or long before, knew that the Greeks and Romans would long afterward call the seventh day of the week *Saturn's-day*; which Dio observes was not so called of old time; and it is a question whether before the Jews fell into idolatry they ever heard of such a star or god as Saturn. Amos, v. 25. Acts, vii. 43.

‡ That the sun, moon, and stars, rule over the affairs of mankind, was an heathen and not a Jewish notion: neither Jews nor Christians were permitted to deal in astrology, though Tacitus seems to have been deep in it.

§ This acknowledgment of the antiquity of Moses, and of his Jewish settlement, was what the heathen cared not always to own.

|| What these pretended awkward and impure institutions were, Tacitus does not inform us.

¶ Josephus shows the contrary, as to the laws of Moses, *contr. Apion*. Book ii. sec. 22, vol. vi.

** An entirely false character, and contrary to their many laws against uncleanness. See Josephus's *Antiq. B.* iii. cap. xi. sec. 12..

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F.

reign women, though* nothing be esteemed unlawful among themselves.

They have ordained circumcision of the part used in generation, that they may thereby be distinguished from other people: the † proselytes to their religion have the same usage.

They are taught nothing sooner than to despise the gods, to renounce their country, and to have their parents, children, and brethren, in the utmost contempt;‡ but still they take care to increase and multiply, for it is esteemed utterly unlawful to kill any of their children.

They also look on the souls of those that die in battle, or are put to death for their crimes, as eternal. Hence comes their love of posterity, and contempt of death.

They derive their § custom of burying, instead of burning their dead, from the Egyptians: they have also the same care of the dead with them, and the same persuasion about the invisible world below: but of the gods above, their opinion is contrary to theirs. The Egyptians worship abundance of animals, and images of various sorts.

The Jews have no notion of any thing more than one divine being, || and that known only by the mind. They esteem such to be profane who frame images of gods out of perishable matter, and in the shape of men. That this being is supreme, and eternal, immutable, and imperishable, is their doctrine. Accordingly they have no images in their cities, much less in their temples; they never grant this piece of flattery to kings, or this kind of honour to emperors.¶ But because

* An high, and I doubt a false commendation of the Jews.

† The proselytes of justice only, not the proselytes of the gates.

‡ How does this agree with that unalterable fidelity and kindness which Tacitus told us the Jews had towards one another? unless he only means that they preferred the divine command before their nearest relations, which is the highest degree of Jewish and christian piety.

§ This custom is at least as old among the Hebrews as the days of Abraham, and the cave of Machpelah, long before the Israelites went into Egypt. Gen. xxiii. 1—20. xxv. 8—10.

|| These are valuable concessions, which Tacitus here makes as to the unspotted piety of the Jewish nation, in the worship of one infinite, invisible God, and absolute rejection of all idolatry, and of all worship of images, nay, of the image of the emperor Caius himself, or of affording it a place in their temple.

¶ All these concessions were to be learned from Josephus, and almost only from him; out of whom therefore I conclude Tacitus took the finest part of his character of the Jews.

their priests, when they play on the pipe and the timbrels, wear ivy round their heads, and a golden * vine has been found in their temple, some have thought that they worshipped our father Bacchus, the conqueror of the East; whereas the ceremonies of the Jews do not at all agree with those of Bacchus, for he appointed rites that were of a jovial nature, and fit for festivals, while the practices of the Jews are absurd and sordid.

CHAP. VI. The limits of Judea easterly are bounded by Arabia: Egypt lies on the south: on the west are Phœnicia and the [great] sea. They have a prospect of Syria on their north quarter, as at some distance from them.†

The bodies of the men are healthy, and such as will bear great labours.

They have not many showers of rain: their soil is very fruitful: the produce of their land is like ours, in great plenty.‡

They have also besides ours, two trees peculiar to themselves; the balsam tree, and the palm tree. Their groves of palms are tall and beautiful. The balsam tree is not very large. As soon as any branch is swelled, the veins quake as for fear, if you bring an iron knife to cut them. They are to be opened with a broken piece of stone, or with the shell of a fish. The juice is useful in physic.

Libanus is their principal mountain, and is very high, and yet what is very strange to be related, it is always shadowed with trees, and never free from snow. The same mountain supplies the river Jordan with water, and affords it its fountains also. Nor is this Jordan carried into the sea; it passes through one and a second lake, undiminished, but it is stopped by the third.§

* This particular fact, that there was a golden vine in the front of the Jewish temple, was in all probability taken by Tacitus out of Josephus; but as the Jewish priests were never adorned with ivy, the signal of Bacchus, how Tacitus came to imagine this I cannot tell.

† See the chorography of Judea in Josephus, of the war, B. iii. sec. 3. vol. v. whence most probably Tacitus framed this short abridgment of it. It comes in both authors naturally before Vespasian's first campaign.

‡ The latter branch of this, Tacitus might have from Josephus, of the war, B. iii. cap. iii. sec. 2, 3, 4. vol. v. The other is not in the present copies.

§ These accounts of Jordan, of its fountains derived from Mount

This last lake is vastly great in circumference, as if it were a sea.* It is of an ill taste, and is pernicious to the adjoining inhabitants by its strong smell. The wind raises no waves there, nor will it maintain either fishes, or such birds as use the water. The reason is uncertain; but the fact is this, that bodies cast into it are borne up, as by somewhat solid. Those who can, and those who cannot swim, are equally borne up by it.† At a certain time of the † year it casts out bitumen; the manner of gathering it, like other arts, has been taught by experience. The liquor is of its own nature of a black colour; and, if you pour vinegar upon it, it clings together, and swims on the top. Those whose business it is, take it in their hands, and pull it into the upper parts of the ship, after which it follows, without further attraction, and fills the ship full, till you cut it off: nor can you cut it off either with a brass or an iron instrument; but it cannot bear the touch of blood, or of a cloth wet with the menstrual purgations of women, as the ancient authors say. But those that are acquainted with the place, assure us, that these waves of bitumen are driven along, and by the hand drawn to the shore, and that when they are dried by the warm steams from the earth, and the force of the sun, they are cut in pieces with axes and wedges, as timber and stones are cut in pieces.

CHAP. VII. Not far from this lake are those plains, which are related to have been of old fertile, and to have had many † cities full of people, but to have been burnt up by a stroke of lightning: it is also said, that the footsteps of Libanus, and of the two lakes it runs through, and its stoppage by the third, are exactly agreeable to Josephus, of the War, B. iii. cap. x. sec. 7, 8. vol. v.

* No less than 580 furlongs long, and 150 broad, in Josephus, of the War, B. iv. cap. viii. sec. 4. vol. v.

† Strabo says, that a man could not sink into the water of this lake so deep as the navel.

‡ Josephus never says that this bitumen was cast out at a certain time of the year only; and Strabo says the direct contrary, but Pliny agrees with Tacitus.

§ This is exactly according to Josephus, and must have been taken from him in the place forecited, and particularly, because it is peculiar to him, so far as I know, in all antiquity. The rest thought the cities were in the same place where now the lake is, but Josephus and Tacitus say they were in its neighbourhood only, which is Mr. Reland's opinion also.

that destruction still remain, and that the earth itself appears as burnt earth, and has lost its natural fertility ; and, that as an argument thereof, all the plants that grow of their own accord, or are planted by the hand, whether they arrive at the degree of an herb, or of a flower, or at complete maturity, become black and empty, and, as it were, vanish into ashes. As for myself, as I am willing to allow that these once famous cities were burnt by fire from heaven, so I would suppose that the earth is infected with the vapour of the lake, and the spirit [or air] that is over it thereby corrupted, and that by this means the fruits of the earth, both corn and grapes rot away, both the soil and the air being equally unwholesome.

The river Belus does also run into the sea of Judea ; and the sands that are collected about its mouth, when you mix nitre with them, are melted into glass : this sort of shore is but small, but its sand, for the use of those that carry it off, is inexhaustible.

CHAP. VIII. A great part of Judea is composed of scattered villages ; it also has large towns : Jerusalem is the capital city of the whole nation. In that city there was a temple of immense wealth ; in the first parts that are fortified is the city itself, next it the royal palace. The temple is enclosed in its most inward recesses. A Jew can come no further than the gate ; all but the priests are excluded by their threshold. While the east was under the dominion of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, the Jews were of all slaves the most despicable.*

† After the dominion of the Macedonians prevailed, king Antiochus tried to conquer their superstition, and to introduce the customs of the Greeks ; but he was disappointed of his design, which was to give this most profligate nation a change for the better, and that was by his war with the Parthians, for at this time Arsaces had fallen off [from the Macedonians.] Then it was that the Jews set kings over them, because the Macedonians were become weak, the Parthians were not yet very powerful, and the Romans were very remote : which kings, when they had been expelled by

* A great slander against the Jews, without any just foundation. Josephus would have informed him better.

† Here begins Josephus's and Tacitus's true accounts of the Jews preliminary to the last war. See of the War, Proem. sec. 7. vol. v.

the nobility of the vulgar, and had recovered their dominion by war, attempted the same things that kings used to do, I mean they introduce the destruction of cities, the slaughter of brethren, of wives, and parents, but still went on in their superstition; for they took upon them withal the honourable dignity of the high-priesthood, as a firm security to their power and authority.

CHAP. IX. The first of the Romans that conquered the Jews was Cneius Pompeius, who entered the temple by right of victory. Thence the report was every where divulged, that therein was no image of a god, but an empty place, and mysteries, most secret places that have nothing in them. The walls of Jerusalem were then destroyed, but the temple continued still. Soon afterward arose a civil war among us; and when therein these provinces were reduced under Marcus Antonius, Pacorus, king of the Parthians, got possession of Judea, but was himself slain by Paulus Ventidius, and the Parthians were driven beyond Euphrates: and for the Jews, Caius Sosius subdued them. Antonius gave the kingdom to Herod; and when Augustus conquered Antonius, he still augmented it.

After Herod's death, one *Simon*, without waiting for the disposition of Cesar took upon him the title of *King*, who was brought to punishment by [or under] Quintilius Varrus, when he was president of Syria. Afterward the nation was reduced, and the children of Herod governed it in three partitions.

Under Tiberius the Jews had rest. After some time they were enjoined to place Caius Cesar's statue in the temple; but, rather than permit that, they took up arms,* which sedition was put an end to by the death of Cesar.

Claudius, after the kings were either dead, or reduced to smaller dominions, gave the province of Judea to Roman knights, or to freed men, to be governed by them. Among whom was Antonius Felix, one that exercised all kind of barbarity and extravagance, as if he had royal authority, but with the disposition of a slave. He had married Drussilla,

* They came to Petronius, the president of Syria, in vast numbers, but without arms, and as humble supplicants only. See Tacitus presently, where he afterward sets this matter almost right, according to Josephus, and by way of correction, for that account is in his annals, which were written after this, which is in his histories.

the grand-daughter of Antonius, so that Felix was the grand-daughter's husband, and Claudius the grand-son of the same Antonius.

ANNAL. BOOK XII.

BUT he that was the brother of Pallas, whose surname was Felix, did not act with the same moderation, [as did Pallas himself.] He had been a good while ago set over Judea, and thought that he might be guilty of all sorts of wickedness with impunity, while he relied on so sure an authority.

The Jews had almost given a specimen of sedition; and, even after the death of Caius was known, and they had not obeyed his command, there remained a degree of fear, lest some future prince should renew that command, [for the setting up of the prince's statue in their temple.] And, in the mean time, Felix, by the use of unseasonable remedies, blew up the coals of sedition into a flame, and was imitated by his partner in the government, Ventidius Cumanus, the country being thus divided between them, that the nation of the Galileans were under Cumanus, and the Samaritans under Felix; which two nations were of old at variance, but now out of contempt of their governors, did less restrain their hatred: they then began to plunder one another, to send in parties of robbers, to lie in wait, and sometimes to fight battles, and withall to bring spoils and preys to the procurators, [Cumanus and Felix.] Whereupon, these procurators began to rejoice; yet, when the mischief grew considerable, soldiers were sent to quiet them, but the soldiers were killed, and the province had been in the flame of war, had not Quadratus, the president of Syria, afforded his assistance. Nor was it long in dispute, whether the Jews, who had killed the soldiers in the mutiny, should be put to death: it was agreed they should die; only Cumanus and Felix occasioned a delay, for Claudius, upon hearing the causes as to this rebellion, had given [Quadratus] authority to determine the case, even as to the procurators themselves; but Quadratus showed Felix among the judges, and took him into his seat of judgment, on purpose that he might discourage his accusers. So Cumanus was condemned for those flagitious actions, of which both he and Felix had been guilty, and peace was restored to the province.*

* Here seems to be a great mistake about the Jewish affairs in Tacitus. See of the war, B. ii, cap. xii. sec. 8.

HOWEVER, the Jews had patience till Gessius Florus was made procurator. Under him it was that the war began. Then Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, attempted to appease it, tried several battles, but generally with ill success.

Upon his death,* whether it came by fate, or that he was weary of his life, is uncertain; Vespasian had the good fortune by his reputation and excellent officers, and a victorious army, in the space of two summers, to make himself master of all the open country, and of all the cities, Jerusalem excepted.

[Flavius Vespasianus, whom Nero had chosen for his general, managed the Jewish war with three legions, *Histor. B. i. chap. x.*]

The next year, which was employed in a civil war, [at home] so far as the Jews were concerned, passed over in peace. When Italy was pacified, the care of foreign parts was revived. The Jews were the only people that stood out, which increased the rage [of the Romans.] It was also thought most proper, that Titus should stay with the army, to prevent any accident or misfortune which the new government might be liable to.

[Vespasian had put an end to the Jewish nation: the siege of Jerusalem was the only enterprise remaining, which was a work hard and difficult; but, rather from the nature of the mountain, and the obstinacy of the Jewish superstition, than because the besieged had strength enough to undergo the distresses [of a siege.] We have already informed [the reader] that Vespasian had with him three legions, well exercised in war. *Histor. Book ii. chap. v.*]

When Vespasian was a very young man, it was promised him that he should arrive at the highest pitch of fame: but, what did first of all seem to confirm the omen, was his triumphs and consulship, and the glory of his victories over the Jews. When he had once obtained these, he believed it was portended that he should come to the empire.†

* Josephus says nothing of the death of Cestius; so Tacitus seems to have known nothing in particular about it.

† Josephus takes notice in general of these many omens of Vespasian's advancement to the empire, and distinctly adds his own remarkable prediction of it also. *Antiq. B. iii. cap. viii. sec. 3. 9.*

There is between Judca and Syria, a mountain and a god, both called by the same name of *Carmel*, though our predecessors have informed us that this god had no image, and no temple, and indeed no more than an altar and solemn worship. Vespasian was once offering a sacrifice there, at a time when he had some secret thought in his mind: the priest, whose name was *Basilides*, when he over and over looked at the entrails, said, Vespasian, whatever thou art about, whether the building of thy house, or enlargement of thy lands, or augmentation of thy slaves, thou art granted a mighty seat, very large bounds, an huge number of men. These doubtful answers were soon spread abroad by fame, and at this time were explained: nor was any thing so much in public vogue, and very many discourses of that nature were made before him, and the more because they foretold what he expected.

Mucianus and Vespasianus went away, having fully agreed on their designs; the former to Antioch, the latter to Cæsarea the capital of Judea. The commencement of Vespasian's advancement to the empire was at Alexandria, where Tiberius Alexander made such haste, that he obliged the legions to take the oath of fidelity to him on the kalends of July, which was ever after celebrated as the day of his inauguration, * although the army in Judea had taken that oath on the fifth of the nones of July, with that eagerness, that they would not stay for his son Titus, who was then on the road, returning out of Syria, chap. lxxix. Vespasian delivered over the strongest part of his forces to Titus, to enable him to finish what remained of the Jewish war, Hist. Book iv. chap. li.

During those months in which Vespasian continued at Alexandria, waiting for the usual set time of the summer gales of wind, and stayed for settled fair weather at sea, many miraculous events happened, by which the good will of heaven and a kind of inclination of the deity in his favour was declared.

* This *although* seems to imply that Vespasian was proclaimed emperor in Judea before he was so proclaimed at Alexandria, as the whole history of Josephus implies, and the place where now Vespasian was, which was no other than Judea, requires also, though the inauguration day might be celebrated afterward from his first proclamation at the great city Alexandria, only then the nones or ides in Tacitus and Suetonius must be of June, and not of July.

A certain man of the vulgar sort at Alexandria, well known for the decay of his eyes, kneeled down by him, and groaned, and begged of him the cure of his blindness, as by the admonition of Serapis, that god which this superstitious nation worships above others. He also desired that the emperor would be pleased to put some of his spittle upon the balls of his eyes. Another infirm man there, who was lame of his hand, prayed Cæsar as by the same god's suggestion, to tread upon him with his foot. Vespasian at first began to laugh at them, and to reject them; and when they were instant with him, he sometimes feared he should have the reputation of a vain person, and sometimes upon the solicitation of the infirm, he flattered himself, and others flattered him with the hopes of succeeding. At last he ordered the physicians to give their opinion, whether this sort of blindness and lameness were curable by the art of man or not? The physicians answered uncertainly, that the one had not his visual faculty utterly destroyed, and that it might be restored, if the obstacles were removed; that the other's limbs were disordered, but if an healing virtue were made use of, they were capable of being made whole. Perhaps, said they, the gods are willing to assist, and that the emperor is chosen by divine interposition; however, they said at last that if the cures succeed, Cæsar would have the glory; if not, the poor miserable objects would only be laughed at. Whereupon Vespasian imagined, that his good fortune would be universal, and that nothing on that account could be incredible, so he looked cheerfully, and in the sight of the multitude, who stood in great expectation, he did what they desired him: upon which the lame hand was recovered, and the blind man saw immediately. Both these * cures are related to this

* The miraculous cures done by Vespasian are attested to both by Suetonius in Vespasian, sec. 7. and by Dio, p. 217. and seem to me well attested. Our Saviour seems to have overruled the heathen oracle of Serapis to procure the divine approbation to Vespasian's advancement to the empire of Rome, as he suggested the like approbation to the advancement both of Vespasian and Titus to Josephus which two were to be his chosen instruments in bringing on that terrible destruction upon the Jewish nation, which he had threatened to execute by these Roman armies. Nor could any other Roman generals than Vespasian and Titus, at that time, in human probability, have prevailed over the Jews, and destroyed Jerusalem, as this whole history in Josephus implies. Josephus also every where supposes Vespasian and Titus raised up to command against

day by those that were present, and when speaking falsely will get no reward.

BOOK V. CHAP. I.

At the beginning of the same year, Titus Cesar, who was pitched upon by his father to finish the conquest of Judea, and while both he and his father were private persons, was celebrated for his martial conduct, acted now with great vigour and hopes of reputation, the kind inclinations both of the provinces and of the armies striving one with another who should most encourage him. He was also himself in a disposition to show that he was more than equal to his fortune; and when he appeared in arms, he did all things after such a ready and graceful way, treating all after such an affable manner, and with such kind words, as invited the good will and good wishes of all. He appeared also in his actions and in his place in the troops; he mixed with common soldiers, yet without any stain to his honour as a general.* He was received in Judea by three legions, the fifth and the tenth, and the fifteenth, who were Vespasian's old soldiers. Syria also afforded him the twelfth, and Alexandria soldiers out of the twenty-second and twenty-third legions. Twenty † cohorts of auxiliaries accompanied, as also eight troops of horse.

King Agrippa also was there, and king Sohemus, and the auxiliaries of king Antiochus, and a strong body of Arabians, who, as is usual in nations that are neighbours to one another, went with their accustomed hatred against the Jews, with many other out of the city of Rome, as every one's hopes led him of getting early into the general's favour, before others should prevent them.

He entered into the borders of the enemies country with these forces, in exact order of war: and looking carefully about him, and being ready for battle, he pitched his camp not far from Jerusalem.

CHAP. X. When therefore he had pitched his camp, as

Judea and Jerusalem, and to govern the Roman empire by divine providence, and not in the ordinary way: as also he always supposes this destruction a divine judgment on the Jews for their sins.

* This character of Titus agrees exactly with the history of Josephus upon all occasions.

† These 20 cohorts and 8 troops of horse, are not directly enumerated by Josephus, *Antiq. B. v. cap. i. sec. 6.*

we said just now, before the walls of Jerusalem, he pompously * showed his legions ready for an engagement.

CHAP. XI. The Jews formed their camp under the very † walls [of the city ;] and if they succeeded, they resolved to venture farther, but if they were beaten back, that was their place of refuge. When a body of ‡ cavalry were sent against them, and with them cohorts, that were expedite and nimble, the fight was doubtful ; but soon afterwards the enemies gave ground, and on the following days there were frequent skirmishes before the gates, till after many losses they were driven into the city. The Romans then betook themselves to the siege, for it did not seem honourable to stay till the enemies were reduced by famine. § The soldiers were very eager to expose themselves to dangers, part of them out of true valour, many out of a brutish fierceness, and out of a desire of rewards.

Titus had Rome, and the riches and pleasures of it before his eyes, all which seemed to be too long delayed, unless Jerusalem could be soon destroyed.

The city stood on an high elevation, and it had great works, and ramparts to secure it, such indeed as were sufficient for its fortification, had it been on plain ground, for here were two hills, of a vast height, which were enclosed by walls made crooked by art, or [naturally] bending inwards, that they might flank the besiegers, and cast darts on them sideways. The extreme parts of the rock were craggy, and the towers, when they had the advantage of the ground, were sixty feet high : when they were built on the plain ground they were not built lower than one hundred and twenty feet : they were of uncommon beauty, and to those who looked at them at a great distance, they seemed equal.]

* This word in Tacitus, *pompously showed* his legions, look as if that pompous show which was some months afterwards, in Josephus, ran in his mind. Antiq. B. v. cap. ix. sec. 1.

† These first bickerings and battles near the walls of Jerusalem, are at large in Josephus. Antiq. B. v. cap. 2.

‡ Josephus distinctly mentions these horsemen or cavalry, 600 in number, among whom Titus had like to have been slain or taken prisoner. Antiq. B. v. cap. ii. sec. 1—3.

§ Such a deliberation and resolution, with this very reason, that it would be dishonourable to stay till the Jews were starved out by famine, is in Josephus. Antiq. B. v. cap. xii. sec. 1.

|| This description of the city of Jerusalem, its two hills, its three walls, and four towers, &c. are in this place at large in Josephus. Antiq. B. v. cap. iv. See also Pompey's siege, B. xiv. cap. iv. sec. 2.

Other walls there were beneath the royal palace, besides the tower of Antonia, with its top particularly conspicuous. / It was called so by Herod, in honour of Marcus Antonius.

CHAP. XII. The temple was like a citadel, having walls of its own, which had more labour and pains bestowed on them than the rest. The cloisters wherewith the temple was enclosed were an excellent fortification.

They had a fountain of water that ran perpetually; and the mountains were hollowed under ground: they had moreover * pools and cisterns for the preservation of the rain water.

They that built this city foresaw, that from the difference of their conduct of life from their neighbours, they should have frequent wars: thence it came to pass that they had provision for a long siege. After Pompey's conquest also, their fear and experience had taught them generally what they should want.†

Moreover, the covetous temper that prevailed under Claudius, gave the Jews an opportunity of purchasing for money‡ leave to fortify Jerusalem; so they built walls in time of peace, as if they were going to war, they being augmented in number by those rude multitudes of people that retired thither on the ruin of the other cities, for every obstinate fellow ran away thither, and there became more seditious than before.

There were three captains, and as many armies. Simon had the remotest and the largest parts of the walls under him. John, who was also called *Bar Gioras*, [the son of Gioras,] had the middle parts of the city under him: and Eleazar had fortified the temple itself. John and Simon

* Of these pools, see Josephus, B. v. cap. xi. sec. 4. The cisterns are not mentioned by him here, though they be mentioned by travellers. See Reland's *Palestine*, tom. i. p. 304.

† This is Tacitus's or the Romans's own hypothesis, unsupported by Josephus.

‡ This sale of leave for the Jews to build the walls of Jerusalem for money, is also Tacitus's or the Romans's own hypothesis, unsupported by Josephus. Nor is Josephus's characters of Claudius near so bad, as to other things also, as it is in Tacitus and Suetonius. Dio says, he was far from covetousness in particular. The others seem to have misrepresented his meek and quiet temper, and learning, but without ambition, and his great kindness to the Jews, as the most contemptible folly. See *Antiq. B. xix. cap. ix. sec. 4.* He was indeed much ruled at first by a very bad minister, Pallas, and at last was ruled and poisoned by a very bad wife, Agrippina.

were superior in multitude and strength of arms, Eleazar was superior by his situation; but battles, factions, and burnings, were common to them all; and a great quantity of corn was consumed by fire. After a while John sent some who, under the pretence of offering sacrifice, might slay Eleazar and his body of troops, which they did, and got the temple under their power. So the city now was parted into two factions, until, upon the coming of the Romans, this war abroad produced peace between those that were at home.

CHAP. XIII. Such * prodigies had happened as this nation, which is superstitious enough in its own way, would not agree to expiate by the ceremonies of the Roman religion, nor would they atone the gods by sacrifices and vows, as these used to do on the like occasions. Armies were seen to fight in the sky, and their armour looked of a bright light colour, and the temple shone with sudden flashes of fire out of the clouds. The doors of the temple were opened on a sudden, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were retiring, and at the same time was there a great motion perceived, as if they were going out of it, which some esteemed to be causes of terror. The greater part had a firm belief that it was contained in the old sacerdotal books, that at this very time the east would prevail, and that some that came out of Judea should obtain the empire of the world, which obscure oracle foretold Vespasian and Titus; but the generality of the common people, as usual, indulged their own inclinations, and when they had once interpreted all to forebode grandeur to themselves, adversity itself could not persuade them to change their minds, though it were from falsehood to truth.†

We have been informed, that the number of the besieged, of every age, and of both sexes, male and female, was six hundred thousand.‡ There were weapons for all that could carry them, and more than could be expected for their num-

* These prodigies, and more, are at large in Josephus, *Antiq. B. vi. cap. v. sec. 3.*

† This interpretation and reflections are in Josephus, *Antiq. B. vi. cap. v. sec. 4.*

‡ The number 600,000 for the besieged is no where in Josephus, but is there for the poor buried at the public charge, *Antiq. B. v. cap. xiii. sec. 7.* which might be about the number of the besieged under Cestius Gallus, though they were many more afterwards at Titus's siege, as Josephus implies. *Antiq. B. vi. cap. ix. sec. 3.*

ber were bold enough to do so. The men and the women were equally obstinate; and when they supposed they were to be carried captive, they were more afraid of life than of death.

Against this city and nation Titus Cesar resolved to fight by ramparts and ditches, since the situation of the place did not admit of taking it by storm or surprise. He parted the duty among the legions; and there were no farther engagements, until whatever had been invented for the taking of cities by the ancients, or by the ingenuity of the moderns, was got ready.

ANNAL. BOOK XV.

NERO, in order to stifle the rumour, [as if he had himself set Rome on fire,] ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar *christians*: these he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was *Christ*, who in the reign of Tiberius was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate the procurator.* For the present this pernicious superstition was in part suppressed, but it brake out again, not only over Judea, whence this mischief first sprang, but in the city of Rome also, whither do run from every quarter and make a noise, all the flagrant and shameful enormities. At first, therefore, those were seized who confessed, afterwards a vast multitude were detected by them, and were convicted, not so much as really guilty of setting the city on fire, but as hating all mankind; nay, they made a mock of them as they perished, and destroyed them by putting them into the skins of wild beasts, and setting dogs upon them to tear them to pieces. Some were nailed to crosses, and others flamed to death: they were also used in the night-time instead of torches for illumination. Nero had offered his own gardens for this spectacle. He also gave them Circensian games, and dressed himself like a driver of a chariot, sometimes appearing among the common people, sometimes in the circle itself; whence a commiseration arose, though the punishments were levelled at guilty persons, and such as deserved to be made the most flagrant examples, as if these people were destroyed, not for the public advantage, but to satisfy the barbarous humour of one man.

* This passage seems to have been directly taken from Josephus's famous testimony concerning Christ and the christians, *Antiq. B. xviii. cap. iii. sec. 3.* of which *Dissert. I.* before.

N. B. Since I have set down all the vile calumnies of Tacitus upon the christians as well as the Jews, it will be proper, before I come to my observations, to set down two heathen records in their favour, and those hardly inferior in *antiquity*, and of much greater *authority* than Tacitus. I mean Pliny's epistle to Trajan, when he was pro-consul of Bythinia, with Trajan's answer or rescript to Pliny, cited by Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerom. These are records of so great esteem with Havercamp, the last editor of Josephus, that he thinks they not only deserve to be *read*, but almost to be *learned by heart* also.

PLINY'S EPISTLE TO TRAJAN.

SIR,

About A. D. 112.

It is my constant method to apply myself to you for the resolution of all my doubts, for who can better govern my dilatory way of proceeding, or instruct my ignorance? I have never been present at the examination of the christians [by others,] on which account I am unacquainted with what uses to be inquired into, and what and how far they use to be punished: nor are my doubts small, whether there be not a distinction to be made between the ages [of the accused,] and whether tender youth ought to have the same punishment with strong men? whether there be not room for pardon upon repentance? or whether it may not be an advantage to one that had been a christian, that he has forsaken christianity? whether the bare name,† without any crimes besides, or the crimes adhering to that name, be to be punished? In the mean time, I have taken this course about those who had been brought before me as christians. I asked them whether they were christians or not? If they confessed that they were christians, I asked them again, and a third time, intermixing threatenings with the questions: if they persevered in their confession, I ordered them to be execu-

* Till now it seems repentance was not commonly allowed those that had been once christians, but though they recanted, and returned to idolatry, yet were they commonly put to death. This was persecution in perfection!

† This was the just and heavy complaint of the ancient christians, that they commonly suffered for that bare *name*, without the pretence of any crimes they could prove against them. This was also persecution in perfection!

ted;* for I did not doubt but, let their confession be of any sort whatsoever, this positiveness and inflexible obstinacy deserved to be punished. There have been some of this mad sect whom I took notice of in particular as Roman citizens, that they might be sent to that city.† After some time, as is usual in such examinations, the crime spread itself, and many more cases came before me. A libel was sent me, though without an author, containing many names [of persons accused.] These denied that they were christians now, or ever had been. They called upon the gods, and supplicated to your ‡ image, which I caused to be brought before me for that purpose, with frankincense and wine: they also cursed Christ: none of which things, as it is said, can any of those that are really christians be compelled to do; so I thought fit to let them go. Others of them that were named in the libel, said they were christians, but presently denied it again, that indeed they had been christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some many more; and one there was that said, he had not been so these twenty years. All these worshipped your image, and the images of our gods: these also cursed Christ. However, they assured me, that the main of their fault, or of their mistake, was this, that they were wont, on a stated day, to meet together before it was light, and to sing an hymn to Christ, as to a god, alternately; and to oblige themselves by a sacrament [or oath,] not to do any thing that was ill, but that they would commit no theft, or pilfering, or adultery; that they would not break their promises, or deny what was deposited with them when it was required back again: after which it was

* Amazing doctrine! that a firm and fixed resolution of keeping a good conscience should be thought without dispute to deserve death, and this by such comparatively excellent heathens as Pliny and Trajan.

† This was the case of St. Paul, who, being a citizen of Rome, was allowed to *appeal unto Cesar*, and was *sent to Rome* accordingly, Acts xxii. 25—26. xxv. 25. xxvi. 32. xxvii. 24.

‡ Amazing stupidity! that the emperor's image, even while he was alive, should be allowed capable of divine worship, even by such comparatively excellent heathens as Pliny and Trajan!

§ Take here a parallel account out of the martyrdom of Polycarp, sec. 9. The proconsul said, "Reproach Christ." Polycarp replied, "Eighty and six years have I now served Christ, and he has never done me the least wrong; how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?"

their custom to depart, and to meet again at a common but innocent * meal, which yet they had left off upon that edict which I published at your command, and wherein I had forbidden any such conventicles. These examinations made me think it necessary to inquire, by torments, what the truth was, which I did of two servant-maids, which were called *deaconesses*; but still I discovered no more than that they were addicted to a bad, and to an extravagant superstition. Hereupon I have put off any further examinations, and have recourse to you, for the affair seems to be well worth consultation, especially on account of the † number of those that are in danger; for there are many of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes, which are now and hereafter likely to be called to account, and to be in danger, for this superstition is spread like a contagion, not only in cities and towns, but into country villages also, which yet there is reason to hope may be stopped and corrected. To be sure, the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin already to be frequented; and the holy solemnities, which were long intermitted, begin to be revived. The sacrifices begin to sell well every where, of which very few purchasers had of late appeared; whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men may be amended, if place for repentance be admitted.

TRAJAN'S EPISTLE TO PLINY.

My Pliny, you have taken the method which you ought in examining the causes of those that had been accused as christians, for indeed no certain and general form of judging can be ordained in this case. These people are not to be sought for; but if they be accused, and convicted, they are to be punished, but with this caution, that he who denies himself to be a christian, and makes it plain that he is not so by supplicating to our gods, although he had been so formerly, may be allowed pardon, upon his repentance. As for libels sent without an author, they ought to have no place in any accusation whatsoever, for that would be a thing of very ill example, and not agreeable to my reign.

* This must most probably be the *feast of charity*.

† Some of late are very loth to believe that the christians were numerous in the second century; but this is such an evidence that they were very numerous, at least in Bythia, even in the beginning of that century, as is wholly undeniable.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE PASSAGES TAKEN OUT OF TACITUS.

I. We see here what great regard the best of the Roman historians of that age, Tacitus, had to the history of Josephus, while, though he never names him, as he very rarely names any of those Roman authors whence he derives other parts of his history, yet does it appear that he refers to his seven books of the Jewish Wars several times in a very few pages; and almost always depends on his accounts of the affairs of the Romans and Parthians, as well as of the Jews, during no fewer than two hundred and forty years, to which those books extend.

II. Yet does it appear, that when he now and then followed other historians or reports concerning the Romans, the Parthians, or the Jews, during that long interval, he was commonly mistaken in them, and had better have kept close to Josephus than hearken to any of his other authors or informers.

III. It also appears highly probable that Tacitus had seen the Antiquities of Josephus, and knew that the most part of the accounts he produced of the origin of the Jewish nation entirely contradicted those Antiquities. He also could hardly avoid seeing that those accounts contradicted one another also, and were childish, absurd, and supported by no good evidence whatsoever: as also he could hardly avoid seeing that Josephus's accounts in those Antiquities were authentic, substantial, and thoroughly attested to by the ancient records of the nation, and of the neighbouring nations, which indeed no one can now avoid seeing that carefully peruses and considers them.

IV. Tacitus, therefore, in concealing the greatest part of the true ancient history of the Jewish nation, which lay before him in Josephus, and producing such fabulous, ill-grounded, and partial histories, which he had from the heathens, acted a most unfair part: and this procedure of his is here the more gross, in regard he professed such great impartiality, Hist. B. i. cap. i. and is allowed to have observed that impartiality in the Roman affairs also.

V. Tacitus's hatred and contempt of God's peculiar people, the Jews, and his attachment to the grossest idolatry, superstition, and astral fatality of the Romans, were there-

fore so strong in him as to overbear all restraints of sober reason and equity in the case of those Jews, though he be allowed so exactly to have followed them on other occasions relating to the Romans.

VI. Since therefore Tacitus was so bitter against the Jews, and since he knew that Christ was a Jew himself, and that his apostles and first followers were Jews, and also knew that the christian religion was derived into the Roman provinces from Judea, it is no wonder that this hatred and contempt of the Jews extended itself to the christians also, whom the Romans usually confounded with the Jews: as therefore his hard words of the Jews appears to have been generally groundless, and hurt his own reputation instead of theirs, so ought we to esteem his alike hard words of the christians to be blots on his own character, and not on theirs.

VII. Since therefore Tacitus, soon after the publication of Josephus's Antiquities, and in contradiction to them, was determined to produce such idle stories about the Jews, and since one of those idle stories is much the same with that published in Josephus against Apion, from Manetho and Lysimachus, and no where else met with so fully in all antiquity, it is most probable that these Antiquities of Josephus were the very occasion of Tacitus giving us these stories, as we know from Josephus himself, *contr.* Apion, B. i. sec. 1. that the same Antiquities were the very occasion of Apion's publication of his equally scandalous stories about them, and which Josephus so thoroughly confuted in his two books written against them. And if Tacitus, as I suppose, had also read these two books, his procedure in publishing such stories, after he had seen so thorough a confutation of them, was still more highly criminal. Nor will Tacitus's fault be much less, though we suppose he neither saw the Antiquities, nor the books against Apion, because it was so very easy for him, then at Rome, to have had more authentic accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation, and of the nature of the Jewish and christian religions, from the Jews and christians themselves, which he owns were very numerous there in his days: so that his publication of such idle stories is still utterly inexcusable.

VIII. It is therefore very plain, after all, that notwithstanding the encomiums of several of our learned critics upon Tacitus, and hard suspicions upon Josephus, that all the [involuntary] mistakes of Josephus, in all his large works

put together, their *quality*, as well as *quantity*, considered, do not amount to near so great a sum as do these gross errors and misrepresentations of Tacitus's about the Jews amount to in a few pages, so little reason have some of our later and lesser critics to prefer the Greek and Roman profane historians and writers to the Jewish, and particularly to Josephus. Such later and lesser critics should have learned more judgment and modesty from their great father Joseph Scaliger, when, as we have seen, after all his deeper inquiries, he solemnly pronounces, *De Emend. Temp. Prolegom.* p. 17. That "Josephus was the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers;" and is not afraid to affirm, that "it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this because his fidelity and compass of learning are every where conspicuous."

TABLE

OF THE JEWISH WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, PARTICULARLY OF
THOSE MENTIONED IN JOSEPHUS'S WORKS.

OF THE JEWISH MEASURES OF LENGTH.

	<i>Inches.</i>	<i>Feet. Inches.</i>
Cubit, the standard,	21	1 9
Zereth, or large span,	10½	0 0
Small span,	7	0 0
Palm, or hand's-breadth,	3½	0 0
Inch, or thumb's-breadth,	1,16	0 0
Digit, or finger's-breadth,	,875	0 0
Orgyia, or fathom,	84	7 0
Ezekiel's Canneh, or reed,	126	10 6
Arabian Canneh, or pole,	168	14 0
Schaenus, line, or chain,	1680	140 0
Sabbath-day's journey,	42000	3500 0
Jewish mile,	84000	7000 0
Stadium, or furlong,	8400	700 0
Parasang,	252000	21000 0

OF THE JEWISH MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	<i>Cub. Inches.</i>	<i>Pints or Pounds.</i>
Bath, or Epha,	807 ,274	37 ,83
Corus, or Chomer,	8072 ,74	278 ,3
Seah, or Saton,	269 ,091	9 ,266
Ditto, according to Josephus,	828 ,28	28 ,3
Hin,	134 ,54	4 ,4633
Ditto, according to Josephus,	414 ,12	14 ,3
Omer, or Assaron,	80 ,727	2 ,78
Cab,	44 ,859	1 ,544
Log,	11 ,21	,39
Metretes, or Syrian firkin,	207	7 ,125

OF THE JEWISH WEIGHTS AND COINS.

	£	s.	d.
Stater, Siclus, or shekel of the sanctuary, the standard,	0	2	6
Tyrian Coin, equal to the shekel,	0	2	6
Bekah, half of the shekel,	0	1	3
Drachma Attica, one fourth,	0	0	7½
Drachma Alexandrina, or Darchmon, or Adarchmon, one half,	0	1	3
Gerah, or Obolus, one twentieth,	0	0	1½
Maneh, or Mna—100 shekels in weight—21900 grains Troy.			
Maneh, Mna, or Mina, as a coin,—60 shekels,	7	10	0
Talent of silver,—3000 shekels,	375	0	0
Drachma of gold not more than	0	1	1
Shekel of gold not more than	0	4	4
Daric of gold,	1	0	4
Talent of gold not more than	648	0	0

TABLE

OF THE NAMES OF THE JEWISH MONTHS IN JOSEPHUS AND OTHERS, WITH THE SYROMACEDONIAN NAMES JOSEPHUS GIVES THEM, AND OF THE JULIAN OR ROMAN MONTHS CORRESPONDING TO THEM.

<i>Hebrew Names.</i>	<i>Syromacedonian Names.</i>	<i>Roman Names.</i>
1. Nisan	Xanthicus	March and April.
2. Jyar	Artemisius	April and May.
3. Sivan	Daesius	May and June.
4. Tamuz	Panemus	June and July.
5. Ab	Lous	July and August.
6. Elul	Gorpiaeus	August and September.
7. Tifri	Hyperberetaeus	September and October.
8. Marhesvan	Dius	October and November.
9. Casleu	Apellaeus	November and December.
10. Tebeth	Audinaeus	December and January.
11. Shebat	Peritius	January and February.
12. Adar	Dystrus	February and March.
..... Ve Adar, or		
The second Adar, intercalated.		

ANTIQUITIES
OF
T H E J E W S.

Vol. L

G

PREFACE.

§ 1. * THOSE who undertake to write histories do not, I perceive, take that trouble on one and the same account, but for many reasons, and those such as are very different one from another ; for some of them apply themselves to this part of learning to show their great skill in composition, and that they may therein acquire a reputation for speaking finely ; others of them there are who write histories in order to gratify those that happen to be concerned in them, and on that account have spared no pains, but rather gone beyond their own abilities in the performance ; but others there are, who of necessity, and by force, are driven to write history, because they were concerned in the facts, and so cannot excuse themselves for committing them to writing, for the advantage of posterity ; nay, there are not a few who are induced to draw their historical facts out of darkness into light, and to produce them for the benefit of the public, on account of the great importance of the facts themselves with which they have been concerned. Now of these several reasons for writing history, I must profess the two last were my own reasons also : for since I was myself interested in that war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions, and what conclusion it had, I was forced to give the history of it, because I saw that others perverted the truth of those actions in their writings.

2. Now I have undertaken the present work, as thinking it will appear to all the †Greeks worthy of their study ; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, as interpreted out of the Hebrew scriptures. And indeed I did formerly intend, when I ‡wrote of the war, to explain who the Jews originally were ; what fortunes they had been subject to ; and by what Legislator they had been

* This preface of Josephus's is excellent in its kind, and highly worthy the repeated perusal of the reader, before he set about the perusal of the work itself.

† That is, all the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans.

‡ We may seasonably note here, that Josephus wrote his seven books of the Jewish War long before he wrote these his Antiquities. These books of the War were published about A. D. 75, and these Antiquities, A. D. 93, about eighteen years later.

instructed in piety, and the exercises of other virtues; what was also they had made in remote ages, till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans: but because this work would take up a great compass, I separated it into a set treatise by itself, with a beginning of its own, and its own conclusion; but in process of time, as usually happens to such as undertake great things, I grew weary, and went on slowly, it being a large subject, and a difficult thing to translate our history into a foreign, and, to us, unaccustomed language. However, some persons there were who desired to know our history, and so exhorted me to go on with it; and above all the rest *Epaphroditus, a man who is a lover of all kind of learning, but is principally delighted with the knowledge of history, and on this account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs, and many turns of fortune, and having shown a wonderful vigour of an excellent nature, and an immoveable virtuous resolution in them all, I yielded to this man's persuasions, who always excites such as have abilities in what is useful and acceptable, to join their endeavours with his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laziness of disposition to have a greater influence upon me than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were very useful; I thereupon stirred up myself, and went on with my work more cheerfully. Besides the foregoing motives, I had others which I greatly reflected on; and these were, that our forefathers were willing to communicate such things to others; and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the affairs of our nation.

3. I found, therefore, that the second of the Ptolemies was a king who was extraordinary diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government therein contained, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazer the high-priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity among us, did not envy the fore-named king the participation of that advantage, which otherwise he would for certain have denied him, but

* This Epaphroditus was certainly alive in the third year of Trajan, A. D. 100. See the note on Antiq. B. i. against Apion, sec. i. Who he was we do not know; for as to Epaphroditus, the freed man of Nero, and afterwards Domitian's secretary, who was put to death by Domitian in the 14th or 15th year of his reign, he could not be alive in the third of Trajan.

that he knew the custom of our nation was to hinder nothing of what we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly, I thought it became me, both to imitate the generosity of our high-priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the king; for he did not obtain all our writings at that time; but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters gave him, only the books of the law, while there were a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They indeed contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, and great actions of the commanders, and mutations of the form of our government. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history, may principally learn from it, that all events succeeded well, even to an incredible degree, and the reward of felicity is proposed by God; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws; and that so far as men any way apostatize from the accurate observation of them,* what was practicable before becomes impracticable; and whatsoever they set about as a good thing, is converted into an incurable calamity. And now I exhort all those that peruse these books to apply their minds to God; and to examine the mind of our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him, and hath not ever ascribed to him such operations as become his power, and hath not preserved his writings from those indecent fables which others have framed, although, by the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged such lies; for he lived two thousand years ago: at which vast distance of ages the poets themselves have not been so hardy as to fix even the generations of their gods, much less the actions of their men, or their own laws. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking, and this without adding any thing to what is therein contained, or taking away any thing therefrom.

4. But because almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses, our legislator, I cannot avoid saying somewhat concerning him beforehand, though I shall do it briefly;

* Josephus here plainly alludes to the famous Greek proverb, *If God be with us, every thing that is impossible becomes possible.*

I mean, because otherwise those that read my books may wonder how it came to pass that my discourse, which promises an account of laws and historical facts, contains so much of philosophy. The reader is therefore to know, that Moses deemed it exceeding necessary that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, in the first place should consider the divine nature; and upon the contemplation of God's operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, so far as it is possible for human nature to do, and to endeavour to follow after it; neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation; nor would any thing he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers; I mean, unless they be taught first of all, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and that thence he bestows an happy life upon those that follow him; but plunges such as do not walk in the paths of virtue in inevitable miseries. Now when Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin the establishment of his laws after the same manner that other legislators did; I mean, upon contracts, and other rights between one man and another, but by raising their minds upwards to regard God, and his creation of the world; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of the creatures of God upon earth. Now when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things: for as to other legislators, they followed fables, and by their discourses transferred the most reproachful of human vices unto the gods, and so afforded wicked men the most plausible excuses for their crimes; but as for our legislator, when he had once demonstrated that God was possessed of perfect virtue, he supposed that men also ought to strive after the participation of it; and on those who did not so think, and so believe, he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine this whole undertaking in that view: for thereby it will appear to them, that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislator speaks some things wisely, but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but still explains such things as required a direct explication plainly and expressly. However, ~~those that have a mind to know the reasons of every thing,~~

may find here a very curious philosophical theory, which I now indeed shall waive the explication of; but if God afford me time for it, * I will set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to one history before me, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books after the manner following.

* As to this intended work of Josephus's concerning the reasons of many of the Jewish laws, and what philosophical or allegorical sense they would bear, the loss of which work is by some of the learned not much regretted, I am inclinable, in part, to Fabricius's opinions, *ap. Havercamp*, p. 63, 64. That "we need not doubt but, among some vain and frigid conjectures derived from Jewish imaginations, Josephus would have taught us a greater number of excellent and useful things, which perhaps nobody, neither among the Jews nor among the Christians, can now inform us of; so that I would give a great deal to find it still extant."

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF 3839 YEARS.

[From the Creation to the death of ISAAC.]

CHAP. I.

The constitution of the World, and the disposition of the Elements.

§ 1. IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But when the earth did not come into sight, but was covered with thick darkness, and a wind moved upon its surface, God commanded that there should be light: and when that was made, he considered the whole mass, and separated the light and the darkness; and the name he gave to the one was *Night*, and the other he called *Day*: and he named the beginning of light, and the time of rest, the *Evening* and the *Morning*. And this was indeed the *first day*. But Moses said "it was *one day*: the cause of which I am able to give even now; but because I have promised to give such reasons for all things in a treatise by itself, I shall put off its exposition till that time. After this, on the second day, he placed the heaven over the whole world, and separated it from the other parts, and he determined it should stand by itself. He also placed a crystalline [firmament] round it, and put it together in a manner agreeable to the earth, and fitted it for giving moisture and rain, and for affording the advantage of dews. On the third day he appointed the dry land to appear, with the sea itself round about it; and on the very same day he made the plants and the seeds to spring out of the earth. On the fourth day he adorned the heaven with the sun, the moon, and the other stars, and appointed them their motions and courses, that the vicissitudes of the seasons might be clearly signified. And on the fifth day he produced the living creatures, both those that swim, and those that fly; the former in the sea, the latter in the air: he also sort-

ed them as to society, and mixture for procreation, and that their kinds might increase and multiply. On the sixth day he created the four-footed beasts, and made them male and female: on the same day he also formed man. Accordingly Moses says, that in just six days the world and all that is therein was made. And that the seventh day was a rest, and a release from the labour of such operations; whence it is that we celebrate a *rest* from our labours on that day, and call it the *Sabbath*; which word denotes *rest* in the Hebrew tongue.

2. Moreover Moses, after the seventh day was over,* begins to talk philosophically; and concerning the formation of man, says, That God took dust from the ground, and formed † man, and inserted in him a spirit and a soul. This man was called Adam, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that is *red*, because he was formed out of *red earth* compounded together; for of that kind is virgin and true earth. God also presented the living creatures, when he had made them, according to their kinds, both male and female, to Adam, and gave them those names by which they are still called. But when he saw that Adam had no female companion, no society, for there was no such created, and that he wondered at the other animals which were male and female, he laid him asleep, and took away one of his ribs, and out of it formed the woman; whereupon Adam knew her when she was brought to him, and acknowledged that she was made out of himself. Now a woman is called in the

* Since Josephus, in his preface, sec. 4. says that Moses wrote some things *enigmatically*, some *allegorically*, and the rest in *plain words*; since in his account of the first chapter of Genesis, and the three first verses of the second, he gives us no hints of any mystery at all; but when he here comes to ver. 4, &c. he says, that Moses, after the seventh day was over, began to talk *philosophically*, it is not very improbable that he understood the rest of the second and the third chapters in some *enigmatical*, *allegorical*, or *philosophical* sense. The change of the name of God, just at this place, from *Elohim* to *Jehovah Elohim*; from *God* to *Lord God* in the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Septuagint, does also not a little favour some such change in the narration or construction.

† We may observe here, that Josephus supposed man to be compounded of spirit, soul, and body, with St. Paul, 1 Thess. v. 23. and the rest of the ancients; he elsewhere says also, that the blood of animals was forbidden to be eaten, as having in it soul and spirit. Antiq. B. iii. chap. xi. sec. 2.

Hebrew tongue *Issa* ; but the name of this woman was *Eve*, which signifies the *Mother of all living*.

3. Moses says further, that God planted a paradise in the East, flourishing with all sorts of trees ; and that among them was the *Tree of Life*, and another of *Knowledge*, whereby was to be known what was *Good and Evil* : and that when he had brought Adam and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to take care of the plants. Now the garden was watered by * one river, which ran round about the whole earth, and was parted into four parts. And Phison, which denotes a *multitude*, running into India, makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called *Ganges*. Euphrates also, as well as Tigris, goes down into the † Red Sea. Now the name Euphrates, or Phrath, denotes either a *dispersion* or a *flower* : by Tigris, or Diglath, is signified *what is swift with narrowness* : and Geon runs through Egypt, and denotes *what arises from the East*, which the Greeks call *Nile*.

4. God therefore commanded that Adam and his wife should eat of all the rest of the plants, but to abstain from the *Tree of Knowledge* ; and foretold them, that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction. But while all the living creatures had † one language at that time, the Serpent,

* Whence this strange notion came, which yet is not peculiar to Josephus, but, as Dr. Hudon says here, is derived from elder authors, as if four of the greatest rivers in the world, running two of them at vast distances from the other two, by some means or other watered Paradise, is hard to say. Only since Josephus has already appeared to *allegorize* this history, and takes notice that these four names had a particular signification ; Phison for Ganges, a *Multitude* ; Phrath for Euphrates, either *dispersion* or a *flower* ; Diglath for Tigris, *what is swift with narrowness* ; and Geon for Nile, *which arises from the East*. we perhaps mistake him when we suppose he literally means those four rivers ; especially as to Geon or Nile, *which arises from the East*. while he very well knew the literal Nile *arises from the South* ; though what further allegorical sense he had in view, is now, I fear, impossible to be determined.

† By the Red Sea is not here meant the Arabian Gulf, which alone we now call by that name, but all that South Sea, which included the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, as far as the East Indies ; as Reland and Hudson here truly note from the old geographers.

‡ Hence it appears, that Josephus thought several, at least, of the brute animals, particularly the Serpent, could speak before the Fall. And I think few of the more perfect kinds of those animals want the organs of speech at this day. Many inducements there are also to a notion that the present state they are in is not their original state ; and that their capacities have been once much great-

which then lived together with Adam and his wife, showed an envious disposition, at his supposal of their living happily, and in obedience to the commands of God ; and imagining, that when they disobeyed them, they would fall into calamities, he persuaded the woman, out of a malicious intention, to taste of the *Tree of Knowledge*, telling them that in that tree was the *Knowledge of Good and Evil* ; which knowledge, when they should obtain, they would lead an happy life, nay, a life not inferior to that of a god : by which means he overcame the woman, and persuaded her to despise the command of God. Now when she had tasted of that tree, and was pleased with its fruits, she persuaded Adam to make use of it also. Upon this they perceived that they were become naked to one another ; and being ashamed thus to appear abroad, they invented somewhat to cover them, for the tree sharpened their understanding ; and they covered themselves with fig-leaves, and tying these before them, out of modesty, they thought they were happier than they were before, as they had discovered what they were in want of. But when God came into the garden, Adam, who was wont before to come and converse with him, being conscious of his wicked behaviour, went out of the way. This behaviour surprised God ; and he asked what was the cause of this his procedure ? and why he, that before delighted in that conversation, did now fly from it, and avoid it ? when he made no reply, as conscious to himself that he had transgressed the command of God, God said, “ I had before determined about you both, how you might lead an happy life, without any affliction, and care, and vexation of soul ; and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up, by my providence, of their own accord, without your own labour or pains-taking ; which state of labour and pains-taking would soon bring on old age, and death

er than we now see them, and are capable of being restored to their former condition. But as to this most ancient and authentic, and probably allegorical account of that grand affair of the fall of our first parents, I have somewhat more to say in way of conjecture ; but being only a conjecture, I omit it : only thus far, that the imputation of the sin of our first parents to their posterity, any further than as some way the cause or occasion of man's mortality, seems almost entirely groundless ; and that both man, and the other subordinate creatures, are hereafter to be delivered from the curse then brought upon them, and at last to be *delivered from that bondage of corruption*. Rom. viii. 19—22.

would not be at any remote distance : but now thou hast abused this my good will, and hast disobeyed my commands ; for thy silence is not the sign of thy virtue, but of thy evil conscience." However, Adam excused his sin, and entreated God not to be angry at him, and laid the blame of what was done upon his wife ; and said, that he was deceived by her, and thence became an offender ; while she again accused the Serpent. But God allotted him punishment, because he weakly submitted to the counsel of his wife ; and said, the ground should not henceforth yield its fruits of its own accord, but that when it should be harassed by their labour, it should bring forth some of its fruits, and refuse to bring forth others. He also made Eve liable to the inconveniency of breeding, and the sharp pains of bringing forth children, and this because she persuaded Adam with the same arguments wherewith the Serpent had persuaded her, and had thereby brought him into a calamitous condition. He also deprived the Serpent of speech, out of indignation at his malicious disposition towards Adam. Besides this, he inserted poison under his tongue, and made him an enemy to men : and suggested to them that they should direct their strokes against his head, that being the place wherein lay his mischievous designs towards men, and it being easiest to take vengeance on him that way : and when he had deprived him of the use of his feet, he made him to go rolling all along, and dragging himself upon the ground. And when God had appointed these penalties for them, he removed Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

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CHAP. II.

Concerning the posterity of Adam, and the ten generations from him to the Deluge.

§ 1. ADAM and EVE had two sons ; the elder of them was named *Cain*, which name, when it is interpreted, signifies a *possession*. The younger was *Abel*, which signifies *sorrow*. They had also daughters. Now the two brethren were pleased with different courses of life ; for Abel, the younger, was a lover of righteousness, and believing that God was present at all his actions, he excelled in virtue ; and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only very wicked in other respects, but was wholly intent upon

getting; and he first contrived to plough the ground. He slew his brother on the occasion following: They had resolved to sacrifice to God: now Cain brought the fruits of the earth, and of his husbandry; but Abel brought milk, and the first fruits of his flocks: but * God was more delighted with the latter oblation, when he was honoured with what grew naturally of its own accord, than he was with what was the invention of a covetous man, and gotten by forcing the ground; whence it was that Cain was very angry that Abel was preferred by God before him, and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain, and asked him, What was become of his brother? because he had not seen him of many days, whereas he used to observe them conversing together at other times. But Cain was in doubt with himself, and knew not what answer to give God. At first he said, that he was himself at loss about his brother's disappearing; but when he was provoked by God, who pressed him vehemently, as resolving to know what the matter was, he replied, He was not his brother's guardian or keeper, nor was he an observer of what he did. But in return God convicted Cain, as having been the murderer of his brother: and said, "I wonder at thee, that thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed." God therefore did not inflict the punishment [of death] upon him; on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him, but he made him accursed, and threatened his posterity in the seventh generation. He also cast him, together with his wife, out of that land. And when he was afraid that in wandering about he should fall among wild beasts, and by that means perish, God bid him not to entertain such a melancholy suspicion, and to go over all the earth without fear of what mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and setting a mark upon him, that he might be known, he commanded him to depart.

* St. John's account of the reason why God accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and rejected that of Cain: as also why Cain slew Abel, on account of that his acceptance with God, is much better than this of Josephus's; I mean, because *Cain was of the evil one, and slew his brother. And wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous.* Job iii. 12. Josephus's reason seems to be no better than a Pharisaical notion or tradition.

2. And when Cain had travelled over many countries, he, with his wife, built a city, named *Nod*, which is a place so called, and there he settled his abode; where also he had children. However, he did not accept of his punishment in order to amendment, but to increase his wickedness, for he only aimed to procure every thing that was for his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbours. He augmented his household substance with much wealth by rapine and violence; he excited his acquaintance to procure pleasure and spoils by robbery, and became a great leader of men into wicked courses: He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before; and was the author of measures and weights: and whereas they lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about lands: he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and he compelled his family to come together to it; and called that city *Enoch*, after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the son of Enoch; whose son was Malaleel; whose son was Mathusala; whose son was Lamech; who had seventy-seven children by two wives, Silla and Ada. Of those children by Ada, one was Jabal: he erected tents, and loved the life of a shepherd. But Jubal, who was born of the same mother with him, exercised himself in * music; and invented the psaltery and harp. But Tubal, one of his children by the other wife, exceeded all men in strength, and was very expert and famous in martial performances. He procured what tended to pleasures of the body by that method; and first of all invented the art of making brass. Lamech was also the father of a daughter, whose name was Naamah; and because he was so skilful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that known to his wives. Nay, even while Adam was alive, it came to pass that the posterity of Cain became exceeding wicked, every one successively dying one after another more wicked than the former. They were intolerable in war, and vehement in robberies; and if any one were slow to murder people, yet was he bold in his profligate behaviour, in acting unjustly, and doing injuries for gain.

* From this Jubal, not improbably, came *Jobel*, the trumpet of *Jobel*, or *Jubilee*, that large and loud musical instrument, used in proclaiming the liberty, at the *Year of Jubilee*.

3. Now Adam, who was the first man, and made out of the earth, (for our discourse must now be about him,) after Abel was slain, and Cain fled away, on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire of children, he being two hundred and thirty years old; after which time he lived other seven hundred, and then died. He had indeed * many other children, but Seth in particular. As for the rest, it would be tedious to name them; I will therefore only endeavour to give an account of those that proceeded from Seth. Now this Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, he became a virtuous man; and as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave † children behind him who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good dispositions. They also inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in an happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them, till they died. They also were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies, and their order. And that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of *fire*, and at another time by the violence and quantity of *water*, they made ‡ two pillars; the one of brick, the other of stone: they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar

* The number of Adam's children, as says the old tradition, was thirty-three sons, and twenty-three daughters.

† What is here said of Seth and his posterity, that they were very good and virtuous, and at the same time very happy, without any considerable misfortunes, for seven generations, [see chap. ii. sec. 1. before, and chap. iii. sec. 1. hereafter.] is exactly agreeable to the state of the world, and the conduct of providence, in all the first ages.

‡ Of Josephus's mistake here, when he took Seth, the son of Adam, for Seth or Sesotris, king of Egypt, the erector of these pillars in the land of Siriady see Essay on the Old Testament, Appendix, p. 159, 160. Although the main of this resolution might be true, and Adam might foretell a *conflagration*, and a *deluge*, which all antiquity witnesses to be an ancient tradition; nay, Seth's posterity might engrave their inventions in astronomy on two pillars, yet it is no way credible that they could survive the deluge, which has buried all such pillars and edifices far under ground, in the sediment of its waters, especially since the like pillars of the Egyptian Seth or Sesotris were extant, after the flood, in the land of Siriad, and perhaps in the days of Josephus also, as is shown in the place here referred to.

of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind; and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day.

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CHAP. III.

Concerning the Flood; and after what manner Noah was saved in the ark, with his kindred, and afterwards dwelt in the plain of Shinar.

§ 1. Now this posterity of Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue for seven generations; but in process of time they were perverted, and forsook the practices of their forefathers, and did neither pay those honours to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men; but for what degree of zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now showed by their actions a double degree of wickedness; whereby they made God to be their enemy. For many* angels of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength; for the tradition is, that these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Grecians call *Giants*. But Noah was very uneasy at what they did; and being displeased at their conduct, persuaded them to change their dispositions, and their acts, for the better: but seeing they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, together with his wife and children, and those they had married; so he departed out of that land.

2. Now God loved this man for his righteousness; yet he not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure from wickedness, and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived,† one hundred and twenty only,

* This notion, that the fallen angels were, in some sense, the fathers of the old *Giants*, was the constant opinion of antiquity.

† Josephus here supposes that the life of these *Giants*, for of them only do I understand him, was now reduced to one hundred and twenty years; which is confirmed by the fragment of Enoch, sec. 10, in

he turned the dry land into sea ; and thus were all these men destroyed : but Noah alone was saved ; for God suggested to him the following contrivance and way of escape ; that he should make an ark of four stories high, three hundred * cubits long, fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high. Accordingly he entered into that ark, and his wife, and sons, and their wives ; and put into it not only other provisions, to support their wants there, but also sent in with the rest all sorts of living creatures, the male and his female, for the preservation of their kinds ; and others of them by sevens. Now this ark had firm walls, and a roof, and was braced with cross beams, so that it could not be any way drowned, or overborne by the violence of the water. And thus was Noah, with his family, preserved. Now he was the tenth from Adam, being the son of Lamech, whose father was Mathusala : he was the son of Enoch, the son of Jared ; and Jared was the son of Malaleel, who, with many of his sisters, were the children of Cain, the son of Enos. Now Enos was the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

3. This calamity happened in the six hundredth year of Noah's government, [age] in the † second month, called by the Macedonians *Dius*, but by the Hebrews *Marhesven* ; for so did they order their year in Egypt. But Moses appointed that *Nisan*, which is the same with *Xanthicus*, should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them out of

Authent. Rec. part. i. p. 268. For as to the rest of mankind, Josephus himself confesses their lives were much longer than one hundred and twenty years for many generations after the flood, as we shall see presently ; and he says they were gradually shortened till the days of Moses, and then fixed [for some time] at one hundred and twenty, cap. vi. sec. 5. Nor indeed need we suppose, that either Enoch or Josephus meant to interpret these one hundred and twenty years for the life of men before the flood, to be different from the one hundred and twenty years of God's patience [perhaps while the ark was preparing] till the deluge ; which I take to be the meaning of God when he threatened this wicked world, that if they so long continued impenitent, *their days should be no more than one hundred and twenty years.*

* A cubit is 21 English inches.

† Josephus here truly determines, that the year at the flood began about the autumnal equinox ; as to what day of the month the flood began, our Hebrew and Samaritan, and perhaps Josephus's own copy, more rightly placed it on the 17th day instead of the 27th, as here ; for Josephus agrees with them as to the distance of 150 days to the 17th day of the seventh month, as Gen. vii. ult. with viii. 3.

Egypt in that month; so that this month began the year, as to all the solemnities they observed to the honour of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. Now he says, that this flood began on the twenty-seventh [seventeenth] day of the forementioned month; and this was two thousand six hundred and fifty-six [one thousand five hundred and fifty-six] years from Adam the first man, and the time is written down in our sacred books, those* who then lived having noted down, with great accuracy, both the births and deaths of illustrious men.

4. For indeed Seth was born when Adam was in his two hundred and thirtieth year, who lived nine hundred and thirty years. Seth begat Enoch in his two hundred and fifth year; who, when he had lived nine hundred and twelve years, delivered the government to Cain his son, whom he had at his hundred and ninetieth year. He lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan, when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, had his son Malaleel, who was born in his hundred and seventieth year. This Malaleel having lived five hundred and ninety-five years, died, leaving his son Jared, whom he begat when he was at his hundred and sixty-fifth year. He lived nine hundred and sixty-two years; and then his son Enoch succeeded him, who was born when his father was one hundred and sixty-two years old. Now he, when he had lived three hundred and sixty-five years, departed and went to God; whence it is that they have not written down his death. Now Mathusala, the son of Enoch, who was born to him when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old, had Lamech for his son when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age; to whom he delivered the government when he had retained it nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Now Lamech, when he had governed seven hundred and seventy-seven years, appointed Noah his son to be ruler of the people, who was born to Lamech when he was one hundred and

* Josephus here takes notice, that these ancient genealogies were first set down by those that then lived, and from them were transmitted down to posterity; which I suppose to be the true account of that matter: for there is no reason to imagine that men were not taught to *read* and *write* soon after they were taught to *speak*; and perhaps all by the Messiah himself, who, under the Father, was the creator or governor of mankind, and who frequently in those early days appeared to them.

eighty-two years old, and retained the government nine hundred and fifty years. These years collected together make up the sum before set down. But let no one inquire into the deaths of these men; for they extended their lives along together with their children and grand-children, but let him have regard to their births only.

5. When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty entire days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth; which was the reason why there were no greater number preserved, since they had no place to fly to. When the rain ceased, the water did but just begin to abate after one hundred and fifty days, that is, on the seventeenth of the seventh month, it then ceasing to subside for a little while. After this the ark rested on the top of a certain mountain in Armenia: which, when Noah understood, he opened it, and seeing a small piece of land about it, he continued quiet, and conceived some cheerful hopes of deliverance. But a few days afterward, when the water was decreased to a greater degree, he sent out a raven, as desirous to learn whether any other part of the earth were left dry by the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven returned not. And after seven days he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground, which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive branch: hereby Noah learned that the earth was become clear of the flood. So after he had stayed seven days more, he sent the living creatures out of the ark; and both he and his family went out, when he also sacrificed to God, and feasted with his companions. However, the Armenians call this place* *Αποβλήσιον*, *The place of descent*; for the ark

* This *Αποβλήσιον*, or *place of descent*, is the proper rendering of the Armenian name of this very city. It is called in Ptolemy *Naxuana*, and by Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian historian, *Idsheuan*; but at the place itself, *Nachaisheuan*, which signifies *the first place of descent*; and is a lasting monument of the preservation of Noah in the ark, upon the top of that mountain, at whose foot it was built, as the first city or town after the flood. See Antiq. B. xx. ch. ii. § 3. and Moses Chorenensis, p. 71, 72. Who also says, p. 19. that another town was related by tradition to have been called *Seron*. or the *place of dispersion*, on account of the dispersion of Xisuthrus's or Noah's sons from thence first made. Whether any remains of this ark be still preserved, as the people of the country suppose, I cannot certainly tell. Mons Turnfort had not very long since a mind to see the place himself, but met with too great dangers and difficulties to venture through them.

being saved in that place, its remains are showed there by the inhabitants to this day.

6. Now some writers of barbarian histories make mention of this flood, and of this ark ; among whom is Berosus the Chaldean. For when he was describing the circumstances of the flood, he goes on thus : " It is said there is still some part of thjs ship in Armenia, at the mountain of the Cordyaeans ; and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away, and use chiefly as amulets, for the averting of mischiefs." Hieronymus, the Egyptian, also, who wrote the Phœnician Antiquities, and Manaseas, and a great many more, make mention of the same. Nay, Nicolaus of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth book, hath a particular relation about them ; where he speaks thus : " There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Minyas, called *Baris*, upon which it is reported that many who fled at the time of the deluge were saved ; and that one who was carried in an ark, and came on shore upon the top of it ; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved : this might be the man about whom Moses the legislator of the Jews wrote."

7. But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God had determined to destroy mankind, lest he should drown the earth every year ; so he offered burnt-offerings, and besought God that nature might hereafter go on in its former orderly course, and that he would not bring on so great a judgment any more, by which the whole race of creatures might be in danger of destruction ; but that, having now punished the wicked, he would of his goodness spare the remainder, and such as he had hitherto judged fit to be delivered from so severe a calamity, for that otherwise these last must be more miserable than the first, and that they must be condemned to a worse condition than the others, unless they be suffered to escape entirely ; that is, if they be reserved for another deluge, while they must be afflicted with the terror of the sight of the first deluge, and must also be destroyed by a second. He also entreated God to accept of his sacrifice, and to grant that the earth might never again undergo the like effects of his wrath ; that men might be deprived of any of those good things which they enjoyed before the flood ; but might attain to the like length of days and old age which the ancient people had arrived at before.

8. When Noah had made these supplications, God, who

loved the man for his righteousness, granted entire success to his prayers ; and said, that it was not he who brought the destruction on a polluted world, but that they underwent that vengeance on account of their own wickedness ; and that he had not brought men into the world, if he had himself determined to destroy them, it being an instance of greater wisdom not to have granted them life at all, than, after it was granted, to procure their destruction : but the injuries, said he, they offered to my holiness and virtue, forced me to bring this punishment upon them. But I will leave off for the time to come to require such punishments, the effects of so great wrath, for their future wicked actions, especially on account of thy prayers. But if I shall at any time send tempests of rain, in an extraordinary manner, be not affrighted at the largeness of the showers, for the water shall no more overspread the earth. However, I require you to abstain from shedding the blood of men, and to keep yourself pure from murder ; and to punish those that commit any such thing. I permit you to make use of all the other living creatures at your pleasure, and as your appetites lead you ; for I have made you lords of them all, both of those that walk on the land, and those that swim in the waters, and of those that fly in the regions of the air on high, excepting their blood, for therein is the life. But I will give you a sign that I have left off my anger, by my *bow*, (whereby is meant the rainbow, for they determined that the *rainbow* was the *bow* of God.) And when God had said and promised thus, he went way.

9. Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood, and all that time happily, he died, having lived the number of nine hundred and fifty years. But let no one upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think that what we have said of them is false ; or make the shortness of our lives at present an argument, that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life, for those ancients were beloved of God, and [lately] made by God himself ; and because their food was then fitter for the prolongation of life, might well live so great a number of years : and besides, God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time for foretelling [the periods of the stars,] unless

they had lived six hundred years; for the Great Year is completed in that interval. Now I have for witnesses to what I have said, all those that have written Antiquities, both among the Greeks and Barbarians: for even Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian history, and Berosus, who collected the Chaldean monuments, and Mochus, Hestianeus, and besides these, Hieronymus, the Egyptian, and those that composed the Phœnician history, agree to what I here say: Hesiod also, and Hecataeus, and Hellanicus, and Acusilaus; and, besides these, Ephorus and Nicolaus relate, that the ancients lived a thousand years. But as to these matters, let every one look upon them as they think fit.

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CHAP. IV.

Concerning the tower of Babylon and the confusion of Tongues.

§ 1. Now the sons of Noah were three, Shem, Japhet, and Ham, born one hundred years before the deluge. These first of all descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitations there; persuaded others who were greatly afraid of the lower grounds on account of the flood, and so were very loth to come down from the higher places, to venture to follow their examples. Now the plain in which they first dwelt was called *Shinar*. God also commanded them to send colonies abroad, for the thorough peopling of the earth, that they might not raise seditions among themselves, but might cultivate a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits after a plentiful manner. But they were so ill instructed that they did not obey God; for which reason they fell into calamities, and were made sensible, by experience, of what sin they had been guilty; for when they flourished with a numerous youth, God admonished them again to send out colonies; but they imagining that the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from the favour of God, but supposing that their own power was the proper cause of the plentiful condition they were in, did not obey him. Nay, they added to this their disobedience to the divine will, the suspicion that they were therefore ordered to send out separate colonies, that being divided asunder they might the more easily be oppressed.

2. Now it was Nimrod who excited them to such an affront and contempt of God. He was the grandson of Ham,

the son of Noah, a bold man, and of great strength of hand. He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God, as if it was through his means they were happy, but to believe that it was their own courage which procured that happiness. He also gradually changed the government into tyranny, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but to bring them into a constant dependance upon his power. He also said, "He would be revenged on God if he should have a mind to drown the world again; for that he would build a tower too high for the waters to be able to reach; and that he would avenge himself on God for destroying their forefathers."

3. Now the multitude were very ready to follow the determination of Nimrod, and to esteem it a piece of cowardice to submit to God; and they built a tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree negligent about the work: and, by reason of the multitude of hands employed in it, it grew very high sooner than any one could expect; but the thickness of it was so great, and it was so strongly built, that thereby its great height seemed, upon the view, to be less than it really was. It was built of burnt bricks, cemented together with mortar made of *bitumen*, that it might not be liable to admit water. When God saw that they acted so madly, he did not resolve to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of the former sinners, but he caused a tumult among them, by producing in them diverse languages; and causing, that through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another. The place wherein they built the tower is now called *Babylon*, because of the confusion of that language which they readily understood before: for the Hebrews mean by the word *Babel*, *Confusion*. The Sibyl also makes mention of this tower, and of the confusion of the language, when she says thus: "When all men were of one language, some of them built an high tower, as if they would thereby ascend up to heaven; but the gods sent storms of wind and overthrew the tower, and gave every one his peculiar language: and for this reason it was that the city was called *Babylon*." But as to the plain of Shinar, in the country of Babylonia, Hestiaeus mentions it, when he says thus: "Such of the priests as were sayed, took the sacred vessels of Jupiter Enyalus, and came to Shinar of Babylonia."

CHAP. V.

After what manner the posterity of Noah sent out colonies, and inhabited the whole earth.

§ 1. AFTER this they were dispersed abroad, on account of their languages, and went out by colonies every where; and each colony took possession of that land which they light upon, and unto which God led them, so that the whole continent was filled with them, both the inland and the maritime countries. There were some also who passed over the sea in ships, and inhabited the islands: and some of those nations do still retain the denominations which were given them by their first founders; but some have lost them also, and some have only admitted certain changes in them, that they might be the more intelligible to the inhabitants. And they were the Greeks who became the authors of such mutations: for when, in after ages, they grew potent, they claimed to themselves the glory of antiquity; giving names to the nations that sounded well, [in Greek,] that they might be better understood among themselves; and setting agreeable forms of government over them, as if they were a people derived from themselves.

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CHAP. VI.

How every nation was denominated from their first inhabitants.

§ 1. Now they were the grand-children of Noah, in honour of whom names were imposed on the nations by those that first seized upon them. Japhet, the son of Noah, had seven sons: they inhabited so, that beginning at the mountains Taurus, and Amanus, they proceeded along Asia, as far as the river Tanais, and along Europe to Cadiz; and settling themselves on the lands they light upon, which none had inhabited before, they called the nations by their own names. For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now call *Galatians*, [Galls,] but were then called *Gomerites*. Magog founded those that from him were named *Magogites*, but who are by the Greeks called *Scythians*. Now as to Javan and Madai, the sons of Japhet; from Madai came the *Medes*, which are called *Medes* by the Greeks; but from Javan, and Jonia, all the Grecians are derived. Thobel founded the *Thobelites*, which are now called *Iberes*; and the *Moso-*

cheni were founded by Mosoch ; now they are *Cappadocians*. There is also a mark of their ancient denomination still to be showed ; for there is even now among them a city called Mazaca, which may inform those that are able to understand, that so was the entire nation once called. Thiras also called those whom he ruled over *Thirasiens* ; but the Greeks changed the name into *Thracians*. And so many were the countries that had the children of Japhet for their inhabitants. Of the three sons of Gomer, Aschanaz founded the Aschanasians, who are now called by the Greeks *Rheginians*. So did Riphath found the Ripheans, now called *Paphlagonians* ; and Thrugramma the Thrugrammeans, who, as the Greeks resolved, were named *Phrygians*. Of the three sons of Javan also, the son of Japhet, Elisa gave name to the Eliseans, who were his subjects ; they are now the *Aeolians*. Tharsus to the Tharsians ; for so was *Cilicia* of old called ; the sign of which is this, that the noblest city they have, and a metropolis also, is Tarsus, the *Tau* being by change put for the *Theta*. Cethimus possessed the island Cethima ; it is now called *Cyprus* : and from that it is that all islands, and the greatest part of the sea-coasts, are named Cethim by the Hebrews ; and one city there is in Cyprus that has been able to preserve its denomination ; it is called *Citius* by those who use the language of Greeks, and has not, by the use of that dialect, escaped the name of Cethim. And so many nations have the children and grand-children of Japhet possessed. Now when I have premised somewhat which perhaps the Greeks do not know, I will return and explain what I have omitted ; for such names are pronounced here after the manner of the Greeks, to please my readers, for our own country language does not so pronounce them : but the names in all cases are of one and the same ending ; for the name we here pronounce *Noeus*, is there *Noah*, and in every case retains the same termination.

2. The children of Ham possessed the land from Syria and Amanus, and the mountains of Libanus, seizing upon all that was on its sea-coasts, and as far as the ocean, and keeping it as their own. Some indeed of its names are utterly vanished away ; others of them being changed, and another sound given them, are hardly to be discovered, yet a few there are which have kept their denomination entire : for of the four sons of Ham, time has not at all hurt the name of *Chus* ; for the *Ethiopians*, over whom he reigned, are even at this day,

both by themselves, and by all men in Asia, called *Chusites*. The memory also of the Mesraites is preserved in their name; for all we who inhabit the country [of Judea] call Egypt *Mestre*, and the Egyptians *Mestreans*. Phut also was the founder of Libya, and called the inhabitants *Phutites*, from himself: there is also a river in the country of the Moors which bears that name; whence it is that we may see the greatest part of the Grecian historiographers mention that river, and the adjoining country, by the appellation of *Phut*: but the name it has now has been by change given it from one of the sons of Mestram, who was called *Lybyos*. We will inform you presently what has been the occasion why it has been called *Africa* also. Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, inhabited the country now called *Judea*, and called it from his own name *Canaan*. The children of these [four] were these: Sabas, who founded the Sabeans; Evilas, who founded the Evileans, who are called *Gentuli*; Sabathes founded the Sabathens; they are now called by the Greeks *Astaborans*: Sabactas settled the Sabactens; and Ragmus the Ragmeans: and he had two sons, the one of which, Judadas, settled the Judadeans, a nation of the western Ethiopians, and left them his name; as did Sabas to the Sabeans: but Nimrod, the son of Chus, stayed and tyrannized at Babylon, as we have already informed you. Now all the children of Mesraim, being eight in number, possessed the country from Gaza to Egypt, though it retained the name of one only, the *Philistim*, for the Greeks call part of that country *Palestine*. As for the rest, Ludieim, and Enemim, and Labim, who alone inhabited Lybia, and called the country from himself; Nedim, and Phethrosim, and Chesloim, and Cephthorim, we know nothing of them besides their names; for the *Ethiopic war, which we shall describe hereafter, was the cause that those cities were overthrown. The sons of Canaan were these, Sidonius, who also built a city of the same name; it is called by the Greeks *Sidon*: Amathus inhabited in

* One observation here ought not to be neglected, with regard to that Ethiopic war, which Moses, as general of the Egyptians, put an end to, Antiq. B. ii. ch. v. and about which our late writer seems very much concerned, viz. that it was a war of that consequence, as to occasion the removal or destruction of six or seven nations of the posterity of Mitzraim, with their cities; which Josephus would not have said, if he had not had ancient records to justify those his assertions, though those records be now all lost.

Amathine, which is now called *Amathe* by the inhabitants, although the Macedonians named it *Epiphania*, from one of his posterity : Arudeus possessed the island Aradus : Arucas possessed Arce, which is in Libanus. But for the seven others, [Eueus,] Chetteus, Jehuseus, Amorreuus, Gergeseus, Eudeus, Sineus, Samareus, we have nothing in the sacred books but their names, for the Hebrews overthrew their cities ; and their calamities came upon them on the occasion following.

3. Noah, when after the deluge the earth was resettled in its former condition, set about its cultivation ; and when he had planted it with vines, and when the fruit was ripe, and he had gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted, and being drunk, he fell asleep, and lay naked in an unseemly manner. When his youngest son saw this he came laughing, and showed him to his brethren ; but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah was made sensible of what had been done, he prayed for prosperity to his other sons ; but for Ham, he did not curse him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cursed his posterity : and when the rest of them escaped that curse, God inflicted it on the children of Canaan. But as to those matters we shall speak more hereafter.

4. Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at Euphrates, and reached to the Indian ocean. For Elam left behind him the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians. Ashur lived at the city Ninive ; and named his subjects *Assyrians*, who became the most fortunate nation beyond others. Arphaxad named the *Arphaxadites*, who are now called *Chaldeans*. Aram had the Aramites, which the Greeks call *Syrians* ; as Laod founded the Laodites, which are now called *Lydians*. Of the four sons of Aram, Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus ; this country lies between Palestine and Coelosyria. Ul founded Armenia ; and Gather the Bactrians ; and Mesa the Mesaneans ; it is now called *Charax Spasini*. Sala was the son of Arphaxad ; and his son was Heber, from whom they originally called the Jews* *Hebrews*. Heber begat Joctan and Phaleg :

* That the Jews were called *Hebrews* from this their progenitor Heber, our author Josephus here rightly affirms ; and not from Abram the Hebrew, or *Passenger* over Euphrates, as many of the moderns suppose. Shem is also called the *father of all the children of Heber*, or of *all the Hebrews*, in an history long before Abram

he was called Phaleg because he was born at the dispersion of the nations to their several countries ; for Phaleg among the Hebrews signifies *division*. Now Joctan, one of the sons of Heber, had these sons Elmodad, Saleph, Asermoth, Jera, Adoram, Aziel, Decla, Elbal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilat, and Jobab. These inhabited from Copphen, an Indian river, and in part of Aria adjoining to it. And this shall suffice concerning the sons of Shem.

5. I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son of Phaleg, whose father was Neber, was Ragau ; whose son was Serug, to whom was born Nahor : his son was Terah, who was the father of Abraham, who accordingly was the tenth from Noah, and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge ; for Terah begat Abraham in his seventieth year. Nahor begat Haran when he was one hundred and twenty years old : Nahor was born to Serug at his hundred and thirty-second year ; Ragau had Serug at one hundred and thirty ; at the same age also Phaleg had Ragau : Heber begat Phaleg in his hundred and thirty-fourth year ; he himself being begotten by Sala when he was an hundred and thirty years old, whom Arphaxad had for his son at the hundred and thirty-fifth year of his age. Arphaxad was the son of Shem, and born twelve years after the deluge. Now Abram had two brethren, Nahor and Haran : of these, Haran left a son, Lot ; as also Sarai and Milcha his daughters, and died among the Chaldeans, in a city of the Chaldeans called *Ur* ; and his monument is showed to this day. These married their nieces. Nahor married Milcha, and Abram married Sarai. Now Terah hating Chaldea, on account of his mourning for Haran, they all removed to Haran of Mesopotamia, where Terah died, and was buried, when he had lived to be two hundred and five years old ; for the life of men was already, by degrees, diminished, and became shorter than before, till the birth of Moses ; after whom the term of human life was one hundred and twenty years, God determining it to the length that Moses happened to live. Now Nahor had eight sons by Milcha. Uz and Buz, Kemuel, Chesed,

passed over Euphrates, Gen. x. 21. though it must be confessed, that Gen. xiv. 13. where the original says, they told Abram the Hebrew, the Septuagint renders it, the *Passenger*, *πικτῆρας* : but this is spoken only of Abraham himself who had then lately *passed over Euphrates*, and is another signification of the Hebrew word, taken as an appellative, and not as a proper name.

Azau, Pheldas, Jadelph, and Bethuel. These were all the genuine sons of Nahor; for Teba, and Gaam, and Tachas, and Maaca, were born of Reuma his concubine: but Bethuel had a daughter Rebecca, and a son Laban.

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CHAP. VII.

How Abram our forefather went out of the land of the Chaldeans, and lived in the land then called Canaan, but now Judea.

§ 1. Now Abram, having no son of his own, adopted Lot, his brother Haran's son, and his wife Sarai's brother; and he left the land of Chaldea, when he was seventy-five years old, and at the command of God went into Canaan, and therein he dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity. He was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all things, and persuading his hearers, and not mistaken in his opinions; for which reason he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and he determined to renew and to change the opinion all men happened then to have concerning God; for he was the first that ventured to publish this notion, that there was but one God, the creator of the universe; and that as to other, [gods,] if they contributed any thing to the happiness of men, that each of them afforded it only according to his appointment, and not by their own power. This his opinion was derived from the irregular phenomena that were visible both at land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun and moon, and all the heavenly bodies thus: "If [said he] these bodies had power of their own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain, that so far as they co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own abilities, but as they are subservient to him that commands them, to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honour and thanksgiving." For which doctrines, when the Chaldeans, and people of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country; and at the command, and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan: and when he was there settled he built an altar, and performed a sacrifice to God.

2. Berosus mentions our father Abram without naming him, when he says thus: "In the tenth generation after the

flood, there was among the Chaldeans a man, righteous, and great, and skilful in the celestial science." But Hecateus does more than barely mention him; for he composed and left behind him a book concerning him. And Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his history, says thus: "Abram reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land above Babylon, called the land of the *Chaldeans*: but after a long time he got him up, and removed from that country also, with his people, and went into the land then called the land of *Canaan*, but now the land of *Judea*, and this when his posterity were become a multitude; as to which posterity of his we relate their history in another work. Now the name of Abram is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and there is showed a village named from him, *The Habitation of Abram*."

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CHAP. VIII.

That when there was a famine in Canaan, Abram went thence into Egypt; and after he had continued there for a while, he returned back again.

§ 1. Now after this, when a famine had invaded the land of Canaan, and Abram had discovered that the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of the plenty they enjoyed, and to become an auditor for their priests, and to know what they said concerning the gods; designing either to follow them, if they had better notions than he, or to convert them into a better way if his own notions proved the truest. Now seeing he was to take Sarai with him, and was afraid of the madness of the Egyptians with regard to women, lest the king should kill him on occasion of his wife's great beauty, he contrived this device: he pretended to be her brother, and directed her in a dissembling way to pretend the same, for he said it would be for their benefit. Now as soon as they came to Egypt, it happened to Abram as he supposed it would; for the fame of his wife's beauty was greatly talked of, for which reason Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, would not be satisfied with what was reported of her, but would needs see her himself, and was preparing to enjoy her; but God put a stop to his unjust inclinations, by sending upon him a distemper, and a sedition against his government. And when he inquired of the priests

how he might be freed from these calamities, they told him, that this his miserable condition was derived from the wrath of God, upon account of his inclinations to abuse the stranger's wife. - He then out of fear asked Sarai who she was, and who it was that she brought along with her. And when he had found out the truth, he excused himself to Abram, that supposing the woman to be his sister, and not his wife, he set his affections on her, as desiring an affinity with him by marrying her, but not as incited by lust to abuse her. He also made him a large present in money ; and gave him leave to enter into conversations with the most learned among the Egyptians. From which conversations his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before.

2. For whereas the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abram conferred with each of them, and confuting the reasonings they made use of, every one for their own practices, he demonstrated that such reasonings were vain, and void of truth ; whereupon he was admired by them, in those conferences, as a very wise man, and one of great sagacity when he discoursed on any subject he undertook ; and this not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy ; for before Abram came into Egypt they were unacquainted with those parts of learning, for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

3. As soon as Abram was come back into Canaan he parted the land between him and Lot, upon account of the tumultuous behaviour of their shepherds, concerning the pastures wherein they should feed their flocks. However, he gave Lot his option, or leave to choose which lands he would take ; and he took himself what the other left, which were the lower grounds at the foot of the mountains ; and he himself dwelt in Hebrón, which is a city seven years ancients than Tanais of Egypt. But Lot possessed the land of the plain, and the river Jordan, not far from the city of Sodom, which was then a fine city, but is now destroyed by the will and the wrath of God ; the cause of which I shall show in its proper place hereafter.

CHAP. IX.

The destruction of the Sodomites by the Assyrian war.

§ 1. At this time, when the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, the people of Sodom were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches, and number of their youth. There were five kings that managed the affairs of this country, Ballas, Barsas, Senebar, and Sumobor, with the king of Bela; and each king led on his own troops: and the Assyrians made war upon them, and dividing their army into four parts, fought against them. Now every part of the army had its own commander; and when the battle was joined, the Assyrians were conquerors, and imposed a tribute upon the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years; and so long they continued to pay their tribute: but on the thirteenth year they rebelled, and then the army of the Assyrians came upon them, under their commanders, Amraphel, Arioch, Chodorlaomor, and Tidal. These kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrown the offspring of the giants. And when they were come over against Sodom, they pitched their camp at the vale called the *Slime-pits*, for at that time there were pits in that place; but now upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, that vale became the *Lake Asphaltitis*, as it is called: however, concerning this lake we shall speak more presently. Now when the Sodomites joined battle with the Assyrians, and the fight was very obstinate, many of them were killed, and the rest were carried captive; among which captives was Lot, who had come to assist the Sodomites.

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CHAP. X.

How Abram fought with the Assyrians, and overcame them, and saved the Sodomite prisoners, and took from the Assyrians the prey they had gotten.

§ 1. WHEN Abram heard of their calamity, he was at once afraid for Lot his kinsman, and pitied the Sodomites, his friends and neighbours, and thinking it proper to afford them assistance, he did not delay it, but marched hastily, and the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians, near Dan, for that is the name of the other spring near Jordan; and before they could

arm themselves, he slew some as they were in their beds before they could suspect any harm; and others, who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk they could not fight, ran away. Abram pursued after them, till on the second day he drove them into a body unto Hoba, a place belonging to Damascus; and thereby demonstrated that victory does not depend on multitude, and the number of hands, but the alacrity and courage of soldiers overcome the most numerous bodies of men, while he got the victory over so great an army with no more than three hundred and eighteen of his servants, and three of his friends: but all those that fled returned home ingloriously.

2. So Abram, when he had saved the captive Sodomites, who had been taken by the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in peace. Now the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called *The king's dale*, where Melchisedec, king of the city Salem, received him. That name signifies *The righteous king*; and such he was without dispute, insomuch that, on this account, he was made the priest of God; however, they afterwards called it *Salem Jerusalem*. Now this Melchisedec supplied Abram's army in a hospitable manner, and gave them provisions in abundance; and as they were feasting, he began to praise him, and to bless God for subduing his enemies under him. And when Abram gave him the tenth part of his prey, he accepted of the gift: but the king of Sodom desired Abram to take the prey; but intreated that he might have these men restored to him whom Abram had saved from the Assyrians, because they belonged to him. But Abram would not do so; nor would make any other advantage of that prey, than what his servants had eaten; but still insisted that he should afford a part to his friends that had assisted him in the battle. The first of them was called *Eschol*, and then *Enner*, and *Mambre*.

3. And God commended his virtue, and said, Thou shalt not however lose the reward thou hast deserved to receive by such thy glorious actions. He answered, And what advantage will it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none to enjoy them after me; for he was hitherto childless. And God promised that he should have a son, and that his posterity should be very numerous, insomuch that their number should be like the stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacrifice to God, as he commanded him. The manner of the

sacrifice was this: * he took an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram in like manner of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon; and, as he was enjoined, he divided the three former, but the birds he did not divide. After which, before he built his altar, where the birds of prey flew about as desirous of blood, a divine voice came to him, declaring that their neighbours would be grievous to his posterity, when they should be in Egypt, for † four hundred years; during which time they should be afflicted, but afterward should overcome their enemies, should conquer the Canaanites in war, and possess themselves of their land, and of their cities.

4. Now Abram dwelt near the Oak called *Ogyges*; the place belongs to Canaan, not far from the city of Hebron. But being uneasy at his wife's barrenness, he entreated God to grant that he might have male issue; and God required of him to be of courage; and said, that he would add to all the rest of the benefits that he had bestowed upon him, ever since he led him out of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accordingly Sarai, at God's command, brought to his bed one of her hand-maidens, a woman of Egyptian descent, in order to obtain children by her; and when this hand-maid was with child, she triumphed, and ventured to affront Sarai, as if the dominion were to come to a son to be born of her. But when Abram resigned her into the hand of Sarai, to punish her, she contrived to fly away, as not able to bear the instances of Sarai's severity to her; and she entreated God to have compassion on her. Now a *divine angel* met her, as she was going forward in the wilderness, and bid her return to her master and mistress, for if she would submit to that wise advice, she would live better hereafter; for that the reason of her being in such a miserable case was this, that she had been ungrateful and arrogant towards her mistress. He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on still in her way, she should perish; but if she would return back, she should become the mother of a son who should reign over

* It is worth noting here, that God required no other sacrifices under the law of Moses, than what were taken from these five kinds of animals, which he here required of Abraham; nor did the Jews feed upon any other domestic animals than the three here named, as Reland observes on *Antiq. B. iv. ch. iv. § 4.*

† As to this affliction of Abraham's posterity for 400 years, see *Antiq. B. ii. ch. ix. § 1.*

that country. These admonitions she obeyed, and returned to her master and mistress, and obtained forgiveness. A little while afterwards, she bare Ishmael, which may be interpreted *Heard of God*, because God had *heard* his mother's prayer.

5. The fore-mentioned son was born to Abram when he was eighty-six years old: but when he was ninety-nine, God appeared to him and promised him, that he should have a son by Sarai, and commanded that his name should be *Isaac*; and showed him, that from this son should spring great nations and kings, and that they should obtain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sidon to Egypt. But he charged him, in order to keep his posterity unmixed with others, that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin, and that this should be done on the eighth day after they were born; the reason of which circumcision I will explain in another place. And Abram inquiring also concerning Ishmael, whether he should live or not, God signified to him, that he should live to be very old, and should be the father of great nations: Abram therefore gave thanks to God for these blessings; and then he, and all his family, and his son Ishmael, were circumcised immediately; the son being that day thirteen years of age, and he ninety-nine.

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CHAP. XI.

How God overthrew the nation of the Sodomites, out of his wrath against them for their sins.

§ 1. ABOUT this time the Sodomites grew proud, on account of their riches and great wealth: they became unjust towards men, and impious towards God, insomuch that they did not call to mind the advantages they received from him: they hated strangers, and abused themselves with Sodomitical practices. God was therefore much displeased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and overthrow their city, and to lay waste their country, until there should neither plant nor fruit grow out of it.

2. When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as he sat by the oak of Mambre, at the door of his tent, he saw three angels; and thinking them to be strangers, he rose up, and saluted them, and desired they would accept of an entertainment, and abide with him; to which, when they agreed, he ordered cakes of meal to be made

presently; and when he had slain a calf, he roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak. Now they made a show of eating; and besides, they asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was, and when he said she was within, they said, they should come again hereafter, and find her become a mother. Upon which the woman laughed, and said, that it was impossible she should bear children, since she was ninety years of age, and her husband was an hundred. Then they concealed themselves no longer, but declared that they were angels of God; and that one of them was sent to inform them about the child, and two for the overthrow of Sodom.

3. When Abraham heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites; and he rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated him that he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. And when God had replied, that there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were but ten such men among them he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites, and Lot entreated them to accept of a lodging with him; for he was a very generous and hospitable man, and one that had learned to imitate the goodness of Abraham. Now when the Sodomites saw the young men to be of beautiful countenances, and this to an extraordinary degree, and that they took up their lodgings with Lot, they resolved themselves to enjoy those beautiful boys by force and violence; and when Lot exhorted them to sobriety, and not to offer any thing immodest to the strangers, but to have regard to their lodging in his house, and promised that if their inclinations could not be governed, he would expose his daughters to their lust instead of these strangers; neither thus were they made ashamed.

4. But God was much displeased at their impudent behaviour, so that he both smote those men with blindness, and condemned the Sodomites to universal destruction. But Lot, upon God's informing him of the future destruction of the Sodomites, went away, taking with him his wife, and daughters, who were two, and still virgins; for those that were * betrothed to them were above the thoughts of going,

* These *sons-in-law* to Lot, as they are called, Gen. xix. 12—14. might be so styled, because they were betrothed to Lot's daughters, though not married to them. See the note on Antiq. B. xiv. ch. xiii. § 1.

and deemed that Lot's words were trifling. God then cast a thunderbolt upon the city, and set it on fire, with its inhabitants; and laid waste the country with the like burning, as I formerly said when I wrote the * Jewish war. But Lot's wife continually turning back to view the city, as she went from it, and being too nicely inquisitive what would become of it, although God had forbidden her so to do, was changed into a † pillar of salt: for I have seen it, and it remains at this day. Now he and his daughters fled to a certain small place, encompassed with the fire, and settled in it; it is to this day called *Zoar*, for that is the word which the Hebrews use for a *small thing*. There it was that he lived a miserable life, on account of his having no company, and his want of provisions.

5. But his daughters thinking that all mankind were destroyed, ‡ approached to their father, though taking care not to be perceived. This they did, that human kind might not

* Of the war, B. iv. chap. viii. § 4.

† This *pillar of salt* was, we see here, standing in the days of Josephus, and he had seen it. That it was standing then is also attested to by Clement of Rome, cotemporary with Josephus; as also that it was so in the next century is attested by Irenæus, with the addition of an hypothesis, how it came to last so long, with all its members entire. Whether the account that some modern travellers give be true, that it is still standing, I do not know. Its remote situation, at the utmost southern point of the sea of Sodom, in the wild and dangerous deserts of Arabia, makes it exceeding difficult for inquisitive travellers to examine the place; and for the common reports of country people, at a distance, they are not very satisfactory. In the mean time, I have no opinion of Le Clerc's dissertation or hypothesis about this question, which can only be determined by eye-witnesses. When Christian princes, so called, lay aside their foolish and unchristian wars and quarrels, and send a body of fit persons to travel over the East, and bring us faithful accounts of all ancient monuments, and procure us copies of all ancient records, at present lost among us, we may hope for full satisfaction in such inquiries, but hardly before.

‡ I see no proper wicked intention in these daughters of Lot, when, in a case which appeared to them of unavoidable necessity, they procured themselves to be with child to their father. Without such an unavoidable necessity, incest is an horrid crime; but whether in such a case of necessity as they apprehended this to be, according to Josephus, it was any such crime, I am not satisfied. In the mean time, their making their father drunk, and their solicitous concealment of what they did from him, shows that they despaired of persuading him to an action which, at best, could not but be very suspicious and shocking to so good a man.

utterly fail: and they bare sons; the son of the elder was named *Moab*, which denotes one derived from his father; the younger bare *Ammon*, which name denotes one derived from a kinsman. The former of whom was the father of the Moabites, which is even still a great nation; the latter was the father of the Ammonites; and both of them are inhabitants of Cœlosyria. And such was the departure of Lot from among the Sodomites.

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CHAP. XII.

Concerning Abimelech; and concerning Ishmael, the son of Abraham; and concerning the Arabians which were his posterity.

§ 1. ABRAHAM now removed to Gerar of Palestine, leading Sarah along with him, under the notion of his sister, using the like dissimulation that he had used before, and this out of fear: for he was afraid of Abimelech, the king of that country, who did also himself fall in love with Sarah, and was disposed to corrupt her; but he was restrained from satisfying his lust by a dangerous distemper, which befell him from God. Now, when his physicians despaired of curing him, he fell asleep, and saw a dream, warning him not to abuse the stranger's wife; and when he recovered, he told his friends that God had inflicted that disease upon him by way of punishment for his injury to the stranger; and in order to preserve the chastity of his wife, for that she did not accompany him as his sister, but as his legitimate wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come if this person be once secure of his wife's chastity. When he had said this, by the advice of his friends he sent for Abraham, and bid him be not concerned about his wife, or fear the corruption of her chastity; for that God took care of him, and that it was by his providence that he received his wife again without her suffering any abuse. And he appealed to God, and to his wife's conscience: and said, that he had not had any inclination at first to enjoy her, if he had known she was his wife; but since, said he, thou ledest her about as thy sister, I was guilty of no offence. He also entreated him to be at peace with him; and to make God propitious to him: and that if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have what he wanted inabundance; but that

if he designed to go away, he should be honourably conducted, and have whatsoever supply he wanted when he came thither. Upon his saying this, Abraham told him that his pretence of kindred to his wife was no lie, because she was his brother's daughter; and that he did not think himself safe in his travels abroad with this sort of dissimulation; and that he was not the cause of his distemper, but was only solicitous for his own safety: he said also that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon Abimelech assigned him land and money; and they covenanted to live together without guile, and took an oath at a certain well called *Beersheba*, which may be interpreted, *The well of the oath*: and so it is named by the people of the country unto this day.

2. Now in a little time Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold to him, whom he named Isaac, which signifies *laughter*. And indeed they so called him, because Sarah *laughed* when * God said that she should bear a son, she not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of child-bearing, for she was ninety years old, and Abraham an hundred; so that this son was born to them both in the last year of each of those decimal numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day: and from that time the Jews continue the custom of circumcising their sons within that number of days. But as for the Arabians, they circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ishmael, the founder of their nation, who was born to Abraham of the concubine, was circumcised at that age; concerning whom I will presently give a particular account with great exactness.

3. As for Sarah, she at first loved Ishmael, who was born of her own handmaid Hagar, with an affection not inferior to that of her son, for he was brought up in order to succeed in the government: but when she herself had borne Isaac, she was not willing that Ishmael should be brought up with him, as being too old for him, and able to do him injuries when their father should be dead; she therefore persuaded Abraham to send him and his mother to some distant coun-

* It is well worth observation, that Josephus here calls that principal angel, who appeared to Abraham, and foretold the birth of Isaac, directly *God*; which language of Josephus's here, prepares us to believe those other expressions of his, that *Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man*. Antiq. B. xviii. ch. iii. § 3. and of God, *the Word*, in his homily concerning Hades, may be both genuine. Nor is the other expression of *divine Angel*, used presently, and before, also of any other signification.

try. Now at the first he did not agree to what Sarah was so zealous for, and thought it an instance of the greatest barbarity to send away a *young child, and a woman, unprovided of necessaries; but at length he agreed to it, because God was pleased with what Sarah had determined: so he delivered Ishmael to his mother, as not yet able to go by himself; and commanded her to take a bottle of water and a loaf of bread, and so to depart, and take necessity for her guide. But as soon as her necessary provisions failed she found herself in an evil case; and when the water was almost spent, she laid the young child, who was ready to expire, under a fir-tree, and went on farther, that so he might die while she was absent. But a *divine angel* came to her, and told her of a fountain hard by, and bid her take care, and bring up the child, because she should be very happy by the preservation of Ishmael. She then took courage, upon the prospect of what was promised her, and meeting with some shepherds, by their care she got clear of the distresses she had been in.

4. When the lad was grown up, he married a wife, by birth an Egyptian, from whence the mother was herself derived originally. Of this wife were born to Ishmael twelve sons, Nabaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mabsam, Idumas, Masmaos, Massaos, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphesus, Kadmas. These inhabited all the country from Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it *Nabatene*. They are an Arabian nation, and name their tribes from these, both because of their own virtue, and because of the dignity of Abraham their father.

* Josephus here calls Ishmael a *young child*, or *infant*, though he was above 13 years of age; as Judas calls himself and his brethren *young men* when they were 47, and he had two children. Antiq. B. ii. ch. vi. § 8. and they were much of the same age as is a dam-el of 12 years old called a *little child*, Mark v. 39—42. five several times. Herod also is said, by Josephus, to be a *very young man* at 25. See the note on Antiq. B. xiv. ch. ix. § 2. and of the War, B. i. ch. x. And Aristobulus is styled a *very little child* at 16 years of age. Antiq. B. xv. ch. ii. § 6, 7. Domitian is also called by him a *very young child* when he went on his German expedition, at about 18 years of age, of the War, B. vii. ch. iv. § 2. Samson's wife, and Ruth, when they were widows, are called *children*. Antiq. B. v. ch. viii. § 6. and ch. ix. § 2, 3.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Isaac, the legitimate son of Abraham.

§ 1. Now Abraham greatly loved Isaac, as being his **only begotten*, and given to him at the borders of old age, by the favour of God. The child also endeared himself to his parents still more, by the exercise of every virtue, and adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the worship of God. Abraham also placed his own happiness in this prospect, that when he should die, he should leave this his son in a safe and secure condition; which accordingly he obtained by the will of God; who being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition towards himself, appeared to him, and "Enumerated all the blessings he had bestowed on him; how he had made him superior to his enemies; and that his son Isaac, who was the principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and he said, that he required this son of his, as a sacrifice and holy oblation." Accordingly he commanded him to carry him to the mountain Moriah, and to build an altar, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon it; for that this would best manifest his religious disposition towards him, if he preferred what was pleasing to God before the preservation of his own son.

2. Now Abraham thought that it was not right to disobey God in any thing, but that he was obliged to serve him in every circumstance of life, since all creatures that live enjoy their life by his providence, and the kindness he bestows on them. Accordingly, he concealed this command of God, and his own intentions about the slaughter of his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants, otherwise he should have been hindered from his obedience to God; and he took Isaac, together with two of his servants, and laying what things were necessary for a sacrifice on an ass, he went away to the mountain. Now the two servants went along with him two days; but on the third day, as soon as he saw the mountain, he left those servants that were with him till then in the plain, and having his son alone with him, he came to the mountain. It was that mountain upon which king David

* Note, that both here, and Heb. xi. 17. Isaac is called Abraham's *only begotten son*, though he at the same time had another son Ishmael. The Septuagint expresses the true meaning, by rendering the text, *the beloved son*.

afterwards built the *temple. Now they had brought with them every thing necessary for a sacrifice, excepting the animal that was to be offered only. Now Isaac was twenty-five years old. And as he was building the altar, he asked his father, "What he was about to offer, since there was no animal there for an oblation?" To which it was answered, "That God would provide himself an oblation, he being able to make a plentiful provision for men out of what they already have not, and to deprive others of what they already have, when they put too much trust therein; that therefore if God pleased to be present and propitious at this sacrifice, he would provide himself an oblation."

3. As soon as the altar was prepared, and Abraham had laid on the wood, and all things were entirely ready, he said to his son, "O son, I poured out a vast number of prayers that I might have thee for my son; when thou wast come into the world, there was nothing that could contribute to thy support, for which I was not greatly solicitous; nor any thing wherein I thought myself happier than to see thee grown up to man's estate, and that I might leave thee, at my death, the successor to my dominion: but since it was by God's will that I became thy father, and it is now his will that I relinquish thee, bear this consecration to God with a generous mind; for I resign thee up to God, who has thought fit now to require this testimony of honour to himself on account of the favours he hath conferred on me, in being to me a supporter and defender. Accordingly thou, my son, wilt now die, not in any common way of going out of the world, but sent to God, the father of all men, before hand, by thy own father, in the nature of a sacrifice. I suppose he thinks thee worthy to get clear of this world, neither by a disease, neither by war, nor by any other severe ways by which death usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive thy soul with prayers and holy offices of religion, and will place thee near to himself, and thou wilt there be to me a succourer and supporter in my old age; on which account I principally brought thee up, and thou wilt thereby procure me God for my comforter instead of thyself."

* Here is a plain error in the copies, which say, that king David afterwards built the temple on this mount Moriah, while it was certainly no other than king Solomon who built that temple, as indeed Procopius cites from Josephus: for it was for certain David, and not Solomon, who built the *first altar* there, as we learn, 2 Sam. xxiv. 18. 1 Chron. xxi. 22. and Antiq. B. vii. ch. xiii. † 4.

4. Now Isaac was of such a generous disposition as became the son of such a father, and was pleased with this discourse; and said, "That he was not worthy to be born at first if he should reject the determination of God, and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their pleasures, since it would have been unjust, if he had not obeyed, even if his father had alone so resolved." So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed had been done if God had not opposed it: for he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son; and said, "It was not out of a desire of human blood that he was commanded to slay his son, nor was he willing that he should be taken away from him whom he had made his father, but to try the temper of his mind, whether he would be obedient to such a command. Since therefore he now was satisfied as to that his alacrity, and the surprising readiness he showed in this his piety, he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that his son should live to a very great age; that he should live an happy life, and bequeath a large principality to his children, who should be good and legitimate." He foretold also, that his family should increase into many nations; and that those * patriarchs should leave behind them an everlasting name; that they should obtain the possession of

* It seems both here, and in God's parallel blessing to Jacob, ch. xix. § 1. that Josephus had not yet any notion of the hidden meaning of that most important and most eminent promise, *in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed*. He saith not of seeds, as of many, but as of one; and to thy seed, which is Christ, Gal. iii. 16. Nor is it any wonder, he being, I think, as yet not a christian. And had he been a christian, yet since he was to be sure, till the latter part of his life, no more than an Ebionite christian, who, above all the apostles, rejected and despised St. Paul, it would be no great wonder if he did not now follow his interpretation. In the mean time, we have in effect St. Paul's exposition in the testament of Reuben, § 6. in Authent. Rec. part i. p. 302. who charges his sons, "To worship the seed of Judah, who should die for them in visible and invisible wars; and should be among them an eternal king." Nor is that observation of a learned foreigner of my acquaintance to be despised, who takes notice, that as *seeds*, in the plural, must signify posterity, or *seed*, in the singular, may signify either posterity or a single person; and that in this promise of all nations being happy in the seed of Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob, &c. it is *always* used in the singular. To which I shall add, that it is sometimes, as it were, paraphrased by the son of Abraham, the son of David, &c. which is capable of no such ambiguity.

the land of Canaan, and be envied by all men. When God had said this, he produced to them a ram, which did not appear before, for the sacrifice. So Abraham and Isaac receiving each other unexpectedly, and having obtained the promises of such great blessings, embraced one another; and when they had sacrificed, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording him his assistance in all things they desired.

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CHAP. XIV.

Concerning Sarah, Abraham's wife; and how she ended her days.

§ 1. Now Sarah died a little while after, having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron; the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying-place: which piece of ground Abraham bought for four hundred shekels, of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchres in that place.

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CHAP. XV.

How the nation of the Troglodytes were derived from Abraham by Keturah.

§ 1. ABRAHAM after this married Keturah, by whom six sons were born to him, men of courage and of sagacious minds: Zambran, and Jazar, and Madan, and Madian, Josabak and Sous. Now the sons of Sous were, Sabathan, and Dadan. The sons of Dadan were Latusim, and Assur, and Luom. The sons of Madian were, Ephas, and Ophren, and Anoch, and Ekidas, and Eldas. Now for all these sons and grandsons, Abraham contrived to settle them in colonies; and they took possession of Troglodytis, and the country of Arabia the Happy, as far as it reaches, to the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren, that he made war against Lybia, and took it; and that his grandchildren, when they inhabited it, called it from his name *Africa*. And indeed Alexander Polyhistor gives his attestation to what I here say; who speaks thus: "Cleodemus the prophet, who was also called *Malchus*, who wrote an history of the Jews, in agreement with the history of Moses, their legislator, relates, that

there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah: nay, he names three of them, Apher, and Jurim, and Japhran. That from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other two, Apher and Japhran, the country of Africa took its name, because these men were auxiliaries to Hercules, when he fought against Lybia and Antaeus; and that Hercules married Aphra's daughter, and of her begat a son Didorus; and that Sophon was his son, from whom the barbarous people, called *Sophacians*, were denominated."

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CHAP. XVI.

How Isaac took Rebeka to wife.

§ 1. Now when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to take Rebeka, who was grand-daughter to his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was then about forty years old, he sent the ancientest of his servants to betroth her, after he had obliged him to give him the strongest assurances of his fidelity. Which assurances were given after the manner following: they put each others hands under each others thighs: then they called upon God as the witness of what was to be done. He also sent such presents to those that were there, as were in esteem, on account that they either rarely or never were seen in that country. This servant got thither not under a considerable time, for it requires much time to pass through Mesopotamia, in which it is tedious travelling, both in winter for the depth of the clay, and in summer, for want of water; and besides this, for the robberies there committed, which are not to be avoided by travellers, but by caution beforehand. However, the servant came to Haram. And when he was in the suburbs, he met a great number of maidens going to the water; he therefore prayed to God, that Rebeka might be found among them, or her whom Abraham sent him as his servant to espouse to his son, in case his will were that this marriage should be consummated; and that she might be made known to him by this sign, that while others denied him water to drink, she might give it him.

2. With this intention he went to the well, and desired the maidens to give him some water to drink: but while the others refused, on pretence that they wanted it all at home, and could spare none for him, one only of the company re-

buked them for their peevish behaviour towards the stranger; and said, what is there that you will ever communicate to any body, who have not so much as given the man some water? She then offered him water in an obliging manner. And now he began to hope, that this grand affair would succeed; but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her generosity and good nature, that she did not scruple to afford a sufficiency of water to those that wanted it, though it cost her some pains to draw it; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter; and mayest thou be espoused, said he, to their satisfaction, into the family of an agreeable husband, and bring him legitimate children. Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him her family. They, says she, call me Rebekah; my father was Bethuel, but he is dead; and Laban is my brother, and, together with my mother, takes care of all our family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity. When the servant heard this, he was very glad at what had happened, and at what was told him, as perceiving that God had thus plainly directed his journey; and producing his bracelets, and some other ornaments which it was esteemed decent for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgment, and as a reward for her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying, it was but just that she should have them, because she was so much more obliging than any of the rest. She desired also that he would come and lodge with them, since the approach of the night gave him not time to proceed further. And producing his precious ornaments for women, he said, he desired to trust them to none more safely, than to such as she had showed herself to be: and that he believed he might guess at the humanity of her mother and brother, that they would not be displeased, from the virtue he found in her, for he would not be burthensome, but would pay the hire for his entertainment, and spend his own money. To which she replied, that he guessed right as to the humanity of her parents; but complained, that he should have all on free cost: but she said, she would first inform her brother Laban, and, if he gave her leave, she would conduct him in.

3. As soon then as this was over, she introduced the stranger; and for the camels, the servants of Laban brought them in, and took care of them, and he was himself brought in to supper by Laban. And, after supper, he says to him,

and to the mother of the damsel, addressing himself to her, "Abraham is the son of Terah, and a kinsman of yours, for Nahor, the grandfather of these children, was the brother of Abraham, by both father and mother; upon which account he hath sent me to you, being desirous to take this damsel for his son to wife. He is his legitimate son; and is brought up as his only heir. He could indeed have had the most happy of all the women in that country for him, but he would not have his son marry any of them; but out of regard to his own relations, he desired to match him here, whose affection and inclination I would not have you despise; for it was by the good pleasure of God that other accidents fell out in my journey, and that thereby I light upon your daughter, and your house; for when I was near to the city, I saw a great many maidens coming to a well, and I prayed that I might meet with this damsel, which has come to pass accordingly. Do you therefore confirm that marriage, whose espousals have been already made by a divine appearance; and show the respect you have for Abraham, who has sent me with so much solicitude, in giving your consent to the marriage of this damsel." Upon this they understood it to be the will of God, and greatly approved of the offer, and sent their daughter, as was desired. Accordingly Isaac married her, the inheritance being now come to him; for the children of Keturah were gone to their own remote habitations.

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CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the death of Abraham.

§ 1. A LITTLE while after this Abraham died. He was a man of incomparable virtue, and honoured by God in a manner agreeable to his piety towards him. The whole time of his life was one hundred seventy and five years; and he was buried in Hebron, with his wife Sarah, by their sons Isaac and Ishmael.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob. Of their nativity and education.

§ 1. Now Isaac's wife proved with child, * after the death of Abraham; and when her belly was greatly burdened, Isaac was very anxious, and inquired of God; who answered, that Rebeka should bear twins; and that two nations should take the names of these sons; and that he who appeared the second, should excel the elder. Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold, bear twins; the elder of whom, from his head to his feet, was very rough and hairy; but the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was called *Esau*, a name agreeable to his *roughness*, for the Hebrews call such, an *hairy roughness*, † [*Esau* or] *Seir*; but Jacob the younger was best beloved by his mother.

2. When there was a famine in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the land there being good; but he went to Gerar, as God commanded him. Here Abimelech the king received him, because Abraham had formerly lived with him, and had been his friend: and as in the beginning he treated him exceeding kindly, so he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition to the end, by his envy at him; for when he saw that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him away from him. But Isaac, when he saw how envy had changed the temper of Abimelech, retired to a place called *The Valley*, not far from Gerar; and as he was digging a well the shepherds fell upon him, and began to fight, in order to hinder the work; and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the better of him, so he still retired, and dug another well; and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech's began to offer him violence, he left that also, and still retired, thus purchasing security to himself by a rational and prudent conduct. At length the king gave him leave to dig a

* The birth of Jacob and Esau is here said to be *after Abraham's death*; it should have been *after Sarah's death*. The order of the narration in Genesis, not always exactly according to the order of time, seems to have led Josephus into it, as Dr. Bernard observes here.

† For *Seir* in Josephus, the coherence requires that we read *Esau* or *Seir*, which signifies the same thing.

well without disturbance; he named this well *Rehoboth*, which denotes *a large space*; but of the former wells, one was called *Escon*, which denotes *strife*, the other *Sitenna* which name signifies *enmity*.

3. It was now that Isaac's affairs increased, and his power was in a flourishing condition; and this from his great riches. But Abimelech thinking Isaac throve in opposition to him, while their living together made them suspicious of each other, and Isaac's retiring showing a secret enmity also, he was afraid that his former friendship with Isaac did not secure him, if Isaac should endeavour to revenge the injuries he had formerly offered him; he therefore renewed his friendship with him, and brought with him Philoc, one of his generals: and when he had obtained every thing he desired, by reason of Isaac's good nature, who preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had showed to himself and his father, to his later wrath against him, he returned home.

4. Now when Esau, one of the sons of Isaac, whom the father principally loved, was now come to the age of forty years, he married Adah, the daughter of Helon, and Aholibamah, the daughter of Esebeon; which Helon and Esebeon were great lords among the Canaanites, thereby taking upon himself the authority, and pretending to have dominion over his own marriages, without so much as asking the advice of his father; for had Isaac been the arbitrator, he had not given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any alliance with the people of that country; but not caring to be uneasy to his son, by commanding him to put away these wives, he resolved to be silent.

5. But when he was old, and could not see at all, he called Esau to him, and told him, that besides all blindness, and the disorder of his eyes, his very old age hindered him from his worship of God [by sacrifice,] he bid him therefore to go out a hunting, and when he had caught as much venison as he could, to prepare him* a supper, that after this he might

* The supper of *savoury meat*, as we call it, Gen. xxvii. 4. to be caught by hunting, was intended plainly for a festival or a sacrifice; and upon the prayers that were frequent at sacrifices, Isaac expected, as was then usual in such eminent cases, that a divine impulse would come upon him, in order to the solemn blessing of his son there present, and his foretelling his future behaviour and fortune. Whence it must be, that when Isaac had unwittingly blessed Jacob, and was afterward made sensible of his mistake, yet did he not at-

make supplication to God to be to him a supporter and an assister, during the whole time of his life; saying that it was uncertain when he should die, and that he was desirous, by his prayers for him, to procure, beforehand, God to be merciful to him.

6. Accordingly Esau went out a hunting. But* Rebeka thinking it proper to have the supplication made for obtaining the favour of God to Jacob, and that without the consent of Isaac, bid him kill kids of the goats, and prepare a supper: so Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when the supper was got ready, he took a goat's skin, and put it about his arm, that by reason of its hairy roughness, he might, by his father, be believed to be Esau; for they being twins, and in all things else alike, differed only in this thing. This was done out of his fear, that before his father had made his supplications, he should be caught in his evil practice, and lest he should, on the contrary, provoke his father to curse him. So he brought in the supper to his father. Isaac perceiving by the peculiarity of his

tempt to alter it, how earnestly soever his affection for Esau might incline him to wish it might be altered, because he knew that this blessing came not from himself, but from God, and that an alteration was out of his power. A second afflatus then came upon him, and enabled him to foretell Esau's future behaviour and fortune also.

* Whether Jacob or his mother Rebeka were most blameable in this imposition upon Isaac in his old age, I cannot determine. However, the blessing being delivered as a prediction of future events, by a divine impulse, and foretelling things to befall the posterity of Jacob and Esau in future ages, was for certain providential; and according to what Rebeka knew to be the purpose of God, when he answered her inquiry, *before the children were born*, Gen. xxv. 23. *that one people should be stronger than the other people; and the elder, Esau, should serve the younger, Jacob.* Whether Isaac knew or remembered this old oracle, delivered in our copies only to Rebeka; or whether if he knew and remembered it he did not endeavour to alter the divine determination, out of his fondness for his elder and worsen son Esau, to the damage of his younger and better son Jacob; as Josephus elsewhere supposes. Antiq. B. ii. cap. vii. sec. 3. I cannot certainly say. If so, this might tempt Rebeka to contrive, and Jacob to put this imposition upon him. However, Josephus says here, that it was Isaac, and not Rebeka, who inquired of God at first, and received the forementioned oracle, sec. 1. which, if it be the true reading, renders Isaac's procedure more inexcusable: nor was it probably any thing else that so much encouraged Esau formerly to marry two Canaanitish wives, without his parents consent, as Isaac's unhappy fondness for him.

voice who he was, called his son to him, who gave him his hand, which was covered with the goat's skin. When Isaac felt that, he said, "Thy voice is like the voice of Jacob, yet because of the thickness of thy hair, thou seemest to be Esau." So suspecting no deceit, he eat the supper, and betook himself to his prayers and intercessions with God; and said, "O Lord of all ages, and creator of all substance; for it was thou that didst propose to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have; and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind supporter, and to bestow on them still greater blessings; do thou therefore confirm these thy promises, and do not overlook me, because of my present weak condition, on account of which I more earnestly pray to thee. Be gracious to this my son; and preserve him, and keep him from every thing that is evil. Give him an happy life, and the possession of as many good things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terrible to his enemies, and honourable and beloved among his friends."

7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau. He had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent: but Esau required that he might be made partaker of the like blessing from his father that his brother had partook of; but his father refused it, because all his prayers had been spent upon Jacob: so Esau lamented the mistake. However, his father being grieved at his weeping, said, that "he should excel in hunting, and strength of body; in arms, and all such sorts of work; and should obtain glory forever on those accounts, he and his posterity after him; but still should serve his brother."

8. Now the mother delivered Jacob, when he was afraid that his brother would inflict some punishment upon him, because of the mistake about the prayers of Isaac; for she persuaded her husband to take a wife for Jacob out of Mesopotamia, of her own kindred, Esau having married already Basemmath, the daughter of Ishmael, without his father's consent, for Isaac did not like the Canaanites, so that he disapproved of Esau's former marriages, which made him take Basemmath to wife, in order to please him; and indeed he had a great affection for her.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Jacob's flight into Mesopotamia, by reason of the fear, he was in of his brother.

§ 1. Now Jacob was sent by his mother to Mesopotamia, in order to marry Laban her brother's daughter, (which marriage was permitted by Isaac, on account of his obsequiousness to the desires of his wife;) and he accordingly journeyed through the land of Canaan: and because he hated the people of that country, he would not lodge with any of them, but took up his lodging in the open air, and laid his head on an heap of stones that he had gathered together. At which time he saw in his sleep such a vision standing by him: he seemed to see a ladder that reached from the earth unto heaven, and persons descending down the ladder, that seemed more excellent than human; and at last God himself stood above it, and was plainly visible to him, who calling him by his name, spake to him these words:

2. "O Jacob, it is not fit for thee, who art the son of a good father, and grand-son of one who had obtained a great reputation for his eminent virtue, to be dejected at thy present circumstances, but to hope for better times, for thou shalt have great abundance of all good things by my assistance: for I brought Abraham hither, out of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinsman, and I made thy father an happy man; nor will I bestow a lesser degree of happiness on thyself. Be of good courage, therefore, and, under my conduct, proceed on in this thy journey, for the marriage thou goest so zealously about shall be consummated. And thou shalt have children of good characters, but their multitude shall be innumerable; and they shall leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom, and whose posterity, I give the dominion of all the land, and their posterity shall fill the entire earth and sea, so far as the sun beholds them. But do not thou fear any danger, nor be afraid of the many labours thou must undergo, for by my providence I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still much more in the time to come."

3. Such were the predictions which God made to Jacob: whereupon he became very joyful at what he had seen and heard; and he poured oil on the stones, because on them the prediction of such great benefits was made. He also vowed

a vow, that he would offer sacrifice upon them, if he lived, and returned safe; and if he came again in such a condition, he would give the tithe of what he had gotten to God. He also judged the place to be honourable, and gave it the name of Bethel, which, in the Greek, is interpreted, *the house of God*.

4. So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia, and at length came to Haran; and meeting with shepherds in the suburbs, with boys grown up, and maidens sitting about a certain well, he stayed with them, as wanting water to drink; and beginning to discourse with them, he asked them whether they knew such a one as Laban, and whether he was still alive. Now they all said they knew him, for he was not so inconsiderable a person as to be unknown to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come, for by her means thou mightest learn more exactly whatever thou desirest to know about that family. While they were saying this, the damsel came, and the other shepherds that came down along with her. Then they showed her Jacob, and told her, that he was a stranger, who came to inquire about her father's affairs. But she, as pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was, and whence he came to them, and what it was he lacked that he came thither. She also wished it might be in their power to supply the wants he came about.

5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their kindred, nor by that affection which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so flourishing, as few of the women of that age could vie with. He said then, "There is a relation between thee and me, elder than either thy or my births, if thou be the daughter of Laban; for Abraham was the son of Terah, as well as Haran and Nahor. Of the last of whom, Nahor, Bethuel thy grand-father was the son. Isaac, my father, was the son of Abraham and Sarah, who was the daughter of Haran. But there is a nearer and a later cement of mutual kindred which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebeka was sister to Laban thy father, both by the same father and mother; I therefore and thou are cousin-germans. And I am now come to salute you, and to renew that affinity which is proper between us." Upon this the damsel, at the mention of Rebeka, as usually happens to young persons, wept, and

that out of the kindness she had for her father, and embraced Jacob; she having learned an account of Rebeka from her father, and knew that her parents loved to hear her named; and when she had saluted him, she said, that "he brought the most desirable and greatest pleasure to her father, with all their family, who was always mentioning his mother, and always thinking of her, and her alone; and that this will make thee equal in his eyes to any advantageous circumstances whatsoever." Then she bid him go to her father, and follow her while she conducted him to him; and not to deprive him of such a pleasure, by staying any longer away from him.

6. When she had said thus, she brought him to Laban; and being owned by his uncle, he was secure himself as being among his friends; and he brought a great deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected coming. But a little while afterward Laban told him, that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming: but still he inquired of him the occasion of his coming; and why he left his aged mother and father, when they wanted to be taken care of by him; and that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole occasion of his journey, and told him, "That Isaac had two sons that were twins, himself and Esau; who, because he failed of his father's prayers, which by his mother's wisdom were put up for him, sought to kill him, as deprived of the kingdom which was * to be given him of God, and of the blessings for which their father prayed; and that this was the occasion of his coming hither, as his mother had commanded him to do: for we are all, says he, brethren one to another, but our mother esteems an alliance with your family more than she does one with the families of the country: so I look upon yourself and God to be the supporters of my travels, and think myself safe in my present circumstances."

7. Now Laban promised to treat him with great humanity,

* By this deprivation of the kingdom that was to be given Esau of God, as the first-born, it appears that Josephus thought a kingdom to be derived from God was due to him whom Isaac should bless as his first born, which I take to be that kingdom which was expected under the Messiah, who therefore was born of his posterity whom Isaac should so bless. Jacob therefore, by obtaining this blessing of the first born, became the genuine heir of that kingdom, in opposition to Esau.

Both on account of his ancestors, and particularly for the sake of his mother, towards whom, he said, he would show his kindness, even though she were absent, by taking care of him ; for he assured him he would make him the head shepherd of his flock, and gave him authority sufficient for that purpose ; and when he should have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and this in as honourable a manner as the nearness of their relation should require. This Jacob heard gladly ; and said he would willingly, and with pleasure, undergo any sort of pains while he tarried with him, but desired Rachel to wife, as the reward of those pains, who was not only on other accounts esteemed by him, but also because she was the means of his coming to him ; for he said he was forced by the love of the damsel to make this proposal. Laban was well pleased with this agreement, and consented to give the damsel to him, as not desirous to meet with any better son-in-law ; and said he would do this, if he would stay with him some time, for he was not willing to send his daughter to be among the Canaanites, for he repented of the alliance he had made already by marrying his sister there. And when Jacob had given his consent to this, he agreed to stay seven years ; for so many years he had resolved to serve his father-in-law, that having given a specimen of his virtue, it might be better known what sort of a man he was. And Jacob, accepting of his terms, after the time was over, he made the wedding-feast ; and when it was night, without Jacob's perceiving it, he put his other daughter into bed to him, who was both elder than Rachel, and of no comely countenance ; Jacob lay with her that night, as being both in drink, and in the dark. However, when it was day, he knew what had been done to him : and he reproached Laban for his unfair proceeding with him ; who asked pardon for that necessity which forced him to do what he did ; for he did not give him Leah out of any ill design, but as overcome by another great necessity : that notwithstanding this, nothing should hinder him from marrying Rachel ; but that when he had served another seven years, he would give him her whom he loved. Jacob submitted to this condition, for his love to the damsel did not permit him to do otherwise ; and when an other seven years were gone, he took Rachel to wife.

8. Now each of these had handmaids, by their father's donation. Zilpha was handmaid to Leah, and Bilha to Ra-

chel, by no means * slaves, but, however, subject to their mistresses. Now Leah was sorely troubled at her husband's love to her sister; and she expected she should be better esteemed if she bare him children: so she entreated God perpetually; and when she had borne a son, and her husband was on that account better reconciled to her, she named her son Reubel, because God had *mercy* upon her, in giving her a son, for that is the signification of this name. After some time she bare three more sons; Simeon, which name signifies that God had *hearkened* to her prayer. Then she bare Levi, the *confirmer* of their friendship. After him was born Judah, which denotes *thanksgiving*. But Rachel, fearing lest the fruitfulness of her sister should make herself enjoy a lesser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to him her handmaid Bilha; by whom Jacob had Dan: one may interpret that name into the Greek tongue, *a divine judgment*. And after him Nephtalim, as it were *unconquerable in stratagems*, since Rachel tried to *conquer* the fruitfulness of her sister by this *stratagem*. Accordingly Leah took the same method, and used a counter-stratagem of that of her sister's; for she put to bed to him her own handmaid. Jacob therefore had by Zilpha a son, whose name was Gad, which may be interpreted *fortune*: and after him Asher, which may be called an *happy man*, because he added glory to Leah. Now Reubel, the eldest son of Leah, brought † apples of mandrakes to his mother. When Rachel saw

* Here we have the difference between *slaves* for life, and servants, such as we now hire for a time agreed upon on both sides, and dismiss again, after the time contracted for is over, which are *no slaves*, but *free men*, and *free women*. Accordingly, when the Apostolical Constitution forbid a clergyman to marry *perpetual slaves* or *servants*, B. vi. cap. xvii. it meant only of the former sort; as we learn elsewhere from the same Constitutions. cap. 47. Can. lxxxii. But concerning these twelve sons of Jacob; the reasons of their several names and the times of their several births in the interval here assigned; their several excellent characters; their several faults and repentance; the several accidents of their lives; with their several prophecies at their deaths; see the testament of these twelve patriarchs, still preserved, at large, in the Authent. Rec. part i. p. 294—443.

† I formerly explained these *mandrakes*, as we, with the Septuagint. and Josephus, render the Hebrew word *Dudaim* of the Syrian *Mauz*, with Ludolphus, Authent. Rec. part i. p. 423. But have since seen such a very probable account in MS. of my learned friend Mr. Samuel Barker's of what we still call mandrakes, and their

them, she desired that she would give her the apples; for she longed to eat them: but when she refused, bid her be content that she had deprived her of the benevolence she ought to have had from her husband. Rachel, in order to mitigate her sister's anger, said she would yield her husband to her; and he should lie with her that evening. She accepted of the favour, and Jacob slept with Leah, by the favour of Rachel. She bare then these sons, Issachar, denoting one born *by hire*; and Zabulon, one born as a *pledge* of benevolence towards her: and a daughter, Dinah. After some time, Rachel had a son, named Joseph, which signified there should be another *added* to him.

9. Now Jacob fed the flocks of Laban, his father-in-law, all this time, being twenty years, after which he desired leave of his father-in-law to take his wives and go home; but when his father-in-law would not give him leave, he contrived to do it secretly. He made a trial therefore of the disposition of his wives, what they thought of this journey. When they appeared glad, and approved of it, Rachel took along with her the images of the gods, which according to their laws they used to worship in their own country, and ran away, together with her sister. The children also of them both, and the handmaids, and what possessions they had, went along with them. Jacob also drove away half the cattle, without letting Laban know of it before hand. But the reason why Rachel took the images of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to despise such worship of those gods, was this, that in case they were pursued, and taken by her father, she might have recourse to those images, in order to obtain his pardon.

10. But Laban, after one day's time, being acquainted with Jacob's and his daughter's departure, was much troubled, and pursued after them, leading a band of men with him; and on the seventh day overtook them, and found them resting on a certain hill; and then indeed he did not meddle with them, for it was even-tide: but God stood by him in a dream, and warned him to receive his son-in-law, and his daughters, in a peaceable manner; and not to venture upon any thing rashly, or in wrath to them, but to make a league with Jacob. And told him, that if he despised their small number,

descriptions by the ancient naturalists and physicians, as inclines me to think these here mentioned were really mandrakes, and no other.

and attacked them in an hostile manner, he would himself assist them. When Laban had been thus forewarned by God, he called Jacob to him the next day, in order to treat with him, and showed him what dream he had ; in dependence whereon, he came confidently to him, and began to accuse him, alleging that he had entertained him when he was poor, and in want of all things, and had given him plenty of all things which he had ; "For," said he, "I have joined my daughters to thee in marriage, and supposed that thy kindness to me would be greater than before ; but thou hast had no regard to either thy own mother's relation to me, nor to the affinity now newly contracted between us ; nor to those wives whom thou hast married ; nor to those children of whom I am the grandfather. Thou hast treated me as an enemy, by driving away my cattle ; and by persuading my daughters to run away from their father ; and by carrying home those sacred paternal images which were worshipped by my forefathers, and have been honoured with the like worship which they payed them by myself. In short, thou hast done this whilst thou wert my kinsman, and my sister's son, and the husband of my daughters, and was hospitably treated by me, and didst eat at my table." When Laban had said this, Jacob made his defence : "That he was not the only person in whom God had implanted the love of his native country, but that he had made it natural to all men ; and that therefore it was but reasonable that, after so long time, he should go back to it. But as to the prey, of whose driving away thou accusest me, if any other person were the arbitrator thou wouldst be found in the wrong : for instead of those thanks I ought to have had from thee, for both keeping thy cattle, and increasing them, how is it that thou art unjustly angry at me because I have taken, and have with me a small portion of them ? But then, as to thy daughters, take notice, that it is not through any evil practices of mine that they follow me in my return home, but from that just affection which wives naturally have to their husbands. They follow, therefore, not so properly myself as their own children." And thus far of his apology was made, in order to clear himself of having acted unjustly. To which he added his own complaint and accusation of Laban ; saying, "While I was thy sister's son, and thou hadst given me thy daughters in marriage, thou hast worn me out with thy harsh commands, and detained me twenty years under them. That

indeed which was required in order to my marrying thy daughters, hard as it was, I own to have been tolerable : but as to those that were put upon me after those marriages, they were worse, and such indeed as an enemy would have avoided." For certainly Laban had used Jacob very ill : for when he saw that God was assisting to Jacob in all that he desired, he promised him, that of the young cattle which should be born, he should have sometimes what was of a white colour, and sometimes what should be of a black colour ; but when those that came to Jacob's share proved numerous, he did not keep his faith with him, but said he would give them to him the next year, because of his envying him the multitude of his possessions. He promised him as before, because he thought such an increase was not to be expected ; but when it appeared to be fact, he deceived him.

11. But then, as to the sacred images, he bid them search for them : and, when Laban accepted of the offer, Rachel being informed of it, put those images into that camel's saddle on which she rode, and sat upon it ; and said, that her natural purgation hindered her rising up : so Laban left off searching any further, not supposing that his daughter, in such circumstances, would approach to those images. So he made a league with Jacob, and bound it by oaths, that he would not bear him any malice on account of what had happened ; and Jacob made the like league, and promised to love Laban's daughters. And these leagues they confirmed with oaths also, which they made upon certain mountains, whereon they erected a pillar in the form of an altar : whence that hill is called *Gilead* ; and from thence they call that land *the land of Gilead* at this day. Now when they had feasted, after the making of the league, Laban returned home.

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CHAP. XX.

Concerning the Meeting of Jacob and Esau.

§ 1. Now as Jacob was proceeding on his journey to the land of Canaan, angels appeared to him, and suggested to him good hope of his future condition ; and that place he named *the camp of God*. And, being desirous of knowing what his brother's intentions were to him, he sent messengers to give him an exact account of every thing, as being

afraid, on account of the enmities between them. He charged those that were sent to say to Esau, that "Jacob had thought it wrong to live together with him, while he was in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that he now, thinking the length of time of his absence must have made up their differences, was returning: that he brought with him his wives and his children, with what possessions he had gotten; and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands; and should think it his greatest happiness to partake, together with his brother, of what God had bestowed upon him." So these messengers told him this message. Upon which Esau was very glad, and met his brother with four hundred men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him with such a number of men, was greatly afraid: however, he committed his hope of deliverance to God; and considered how, in his present circumstances, he might preserve himself and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies, if they attacked them injuriously. He, therefore, distributed his company into parts: some he set before the rest, and the others he ordered to come close behind, that so if the first were overpowered when his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed as a refuge to fly unto. And when he had put his company in this order, he sent some of them to carry presents to his brother. The presents were made up of cattle, and a great number of four-footed beasts, of many kinds, such as would be very acceptable to those that received them, on account of their rarity. Those who were sent went at certain intervals of space asunder, that, by following thick after one another, they might appear to be the more numerous, that Esau might remit of his anger on account of these presents, if he were still in a passion. Instructions were also given to those that were sent to speak gently to him.

2. When Jacob had made these appointments all the day, and night came on, he moved on with his company; and, as they were gone over a certain river called *Jabboc*, Jacob was left behind, and meeting with an angel, he wrestled with him, the angel beginning the struggle; but he prevailed over the angel, who used a voice, and spake to him in words, exhorting him to be pleased with what had happened to him, and not to suppose that his victory was a small one, for that he had overcome a divine angel; and to esteem the victory as a

sign of great blessings that should come to him ; and that his offspring should never fail ; and that no man should be too hard for his power. He also commanded him to be called * *Israel*, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that *struggled with the divine angel*. These promises were made at the prayer of Jacob ; for when he perceived him to be the angel of God, he desired he would signify to him what should befall him hereafter. And when the angel had said what is before related, he disappeared : but Jacob was pleased with these things, and named the place *Phanuel*, which signifies the *face of God*. Now when he felt pain by this struggling on his broad sinew, he abstained from eating that sinew himself afterward ; and, for his sake, it is still not eaten by us.

3. When Jacob understood that his brother was near, he ordered his wives to go before, each by herself, with the handmaids, that they might see the actions of the men, as they were fighting, if Esau were so disposed. He then went up to his brother Esau, and bowed down to him, who had no evil design upon him, but saluted him ; and asked him about the company of the children, and of the women ; and desired, when he had understood all he wanted to know about them, that he would go along with him to their father : but Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir, for there was his place of habitation, he having named the place *roughness*, from his own *hairy roughness*.

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CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the violation of Dina's chastity.

§ 1. HEREUPON Jacob came to the place, till this day called *Tents* [Succoth] from whence he went to Schechem, which is a city of the Canaanites. Now, as the Schechemites were keeping a festival, Dina, who was the only daughter of Jacob, went into the city to see the finery of the women of that country. But when Schechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence ; and,

* Perhaps this may be the proper meaning of the word *Israel*, by the present and the old Jerusalem analogy of the Hebrew tongue. In the mean time, it is certain that the Hellenists of the first century, in Egypt and elsewhere, interpreted *Is-ra-el*, to be a *man seeing God*, as is evident from the argument forecited.

being greatly in love with her, he desired of his father that he would procure the damsel to him for a wife. To which desire he condescended; and came to Jacob, desiring him to give leave that his son Schechem might, according to law, marry Dina. But Jacob, not knowing how to deny the desire of one of such great dignity, and yet not thinking it lawful to marry his daughter to a stranger, entreated him to give him leave to have a consultation about what he desired him to do. So the king went away, in hopes that Jacob would grant him this marriage. But Jacob informed his sons of the defilement of their sister, and of the address of Hamor; and desired them to give him their advice what they should do. Upon this, the greatest part said nothing, not knowing what advice to give. But Simeon and Levi, the brethren of the damsel by the same mother, agreed between themselves upon the action following: it being now the time of a festival, when the Schechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch when they were asleep, and coming in the city, slew * all the males; as also their king and his son with them; but spared the women. And when they had done this without their father's consent, they brought away their sister.

2. Now while Jacob was astonished at the greatness of this act, and was severely blaming his sons for it, God stood by him, and bid him be of good courage; but to purify his tents, and to offer those sacrifices which he had vowed to offer when he went first into Mesopotamia, and saw his vision. As he was, therefore, purifying his followers, he light upon the gods of Laban, (for he did not before know they were stolen by Rachel,) and he hid them in the earth under an oak, in Schechem, and departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel, the place where he saw his dream when he went first into Mesopotamia.

3. And when he was gone thence, and was come over against Ephrata, he there buried Rachel, who died in child-bed: she was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at Hebron. And when he had mourned for her a great while, he called the son that was born of her

* Of this slaughter of the Schechemites by Simeon and Levi. see Authent. Rec. part i. p. 309. 418. 432. 439. But why Josephus has omitted the circumcision of these Schechemites, as the occasion of their death, and of Jacob's great grief, as in the testament of Levi, sec. 5. I cannot tell.

† *Benjamin*, because of the *sorrow* the mother had with him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve males, and one female. Of them eight were legitimate, viz. six of Leah, and two of Rachel; and four were of the handmaids, two of each; all whose names have been set down already.

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CHAP. XXII.

How Isaac died, and was buried in Hebron.

FROM thence Jacob came to Hebron, a city situate among the Canaanites; and there it was that Isaac lived: and so they lived together for a little while; for as to Rebeka, Jacob did not find her alive. Isaac also died not long after the coming of his son; and was buried by his sons, with his wife, in Hebron, where they had a monument belonging to them from their forefathers. Now Isaac was a man who was beloved of God, and was vouchsafed great instances of providence by God, after Abraham his father; and lived to be exceeding old: for when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years, he then died.

† Since *Benoni* signifies the *son of my sorrow*, and *Benjamin* the *son of days*, or one born in the father's *old age*, Gen. xliv. 20. I suspect Josephus's present copies to be here imperfect; and, I suppose, that in correspondence to other copies, he wrote that Rachel called her son's name *Benoni*, but his father called him *Benjamin*, Gen. xxxv. 18. As for *Benjamin*, as commonly explained, *the son of the right hand*, it makes no sense at all, and seems to be a gross modern error only. The Samaritan always writes this name truly *Benjamin*, which probably is here of the same signification, only with the Chaldee termination *in*, instead of *im*, in the Hebrew, as we pronounce Cherubin or Cherubim indifferently. Accordingly, both the testament of Benjamin, § 2. p. 401. and *Philo de nominum mutatione*, p. 1659. write the name *Benjamin*, but explain it not the *son of his right hand*, but the *son of days*.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF 220 YEARS.

[From the death of Isaac to the exodus out of Egypt.]

CHAP. I.

How Esau and Jacob, the sons of Isaac, divided their habitation; and Esau possessed Idumea, and Jacob Canaan.

§ 1. AFTER the death of Isaac, his sons divided their habitations respectively. Now they did retain what they had before; but Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumea. He called the country by that name from himself, for he was named *Adom*; which appellation he got on the following occasion. One day returning from the toil of hunting very hungry, (it was when he was a child in age,) he lighted on his brother when he was getting ready lentile-pottage for his dinner, which was of a very *red* colour; on which account he the more earnestly longed for it, and desired him to give him some of it to eat: but he made advantage of his brother's hunger, and forced him to resign up to him his birthright, and he being pinched with famine, resigned it up to him under an oath. Whence it came, that, on account of the *redness* of this pottage, he was, in way of jest, by his cotemporaries, called *Adom*, for the Hebrews call what is red *Adom*; and this was the name given to this country: but the Greeks give it a more agreeable pronunciation, and named it *Idumea*.

2. He became the father of five sons; of whom Jaus, and Jalomus, and Coreus, were by one wife, whose name was Alibama; but of the rest, Aliphaz was born to him by Ada, and Raguel by Basemath: and these were the sons of Esau. Aliphaz had five legitimate sons, Theman, Omer, Saphus, Gotham, and Kanaz; for Amalek was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Tamana. These dwelt in that part of Idumea which was called *Gebalitis*, and that denominated from Amalek, *Amalekitis*; for Idumea was a large country, and did then preserve the name of the whole,

while in its several parts it kept the names of its peculiar inhabitants.

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CHAP. II.

How Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's sons, was envied by his brethren, when certain dreams had foreshowed his future happiness.

§ 1. It happened that Jacob came to so great happiness as rarely any other person has arrived at. He was richer than the rest of the inhabitants of that country: and was at once envied and admired for such virtuous sons, for they were deficient in nothing, but were of great souls, both for labouring with their hands, and enduring of toil; and shrewd also in understanding. And God exercised such a providence over him, and such a care of his happiness, as to bring him the greatest blessings, even out of what appeared to be the most sorrowful condition; and to make him the cause of our forefathers departure out of Egypt, him and his posterity. The occasion was this: when Jacob had this son Joseph born to him by Rachel, his father loved him above the rest of his sons, both because of the beauty of his body, and the virtues of his mind, for he excelled the rest in prudence. This affection of his father excited the envy and the hatred of his brethren; as did also his dreams which he saw, and related to his father and to them, which foretold his future happiness, it being usual with mankind to envy their very nearest relations such their prosperity. Now the visions which Joseph saw in his sleep were these:

2. When they were in the middle of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father with his brethren to gather the fruits of the earth, he saw a vision in a dream, but greatly exceeding the accustomed appearances that come when we are asleep; which, when he was got up, he told his brethren, that they might judge what it portended. He said, "He saw the last night, that his wheat sheaf stood still in the place where he set it, but that their sheaves ran to bow down to it, as servants bow down to their masters." But as soon as they perceived the vision foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and that his power should be in opposition to them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if the dream were not by them understood: but they pray-

ed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass; and they bare a still greater hatred to him on that account.

3. But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun took with him the moon, and the rest of the stars, and came down to the earth, and bowed down to him. He told this vision to his father, and that, as suspecting nothing of ill-will from his brethren, when they were there also, desired him to interpret what it should signify. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream; for considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and wisely guessing at its meaning, he rejoiced at the great things thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time should come when he should be honoured, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, as guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father; the former, as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things, and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that receive their power from the sun and moon.

4. And thus did Jacob make a judgment of his vision, and that a shrewd one also. But these interpretations caused very great grief to Joseph's brethren: and they were affected to him hereupon as if he were a certain stranger, that was to have those good things which were signified by the dreams, and not as one that was a brother, with whom it was probable they should be joint partakers; and as they had been partners in the same parentage, so should they be of the same happiness. They also resolved to kill the lad: and having fully ratified that intention of theirs, as soon as their collection of the fruits was over, they went to Schechem, which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pasturage, there they fed their flocks, without acquainting their father with their removal thither: whereupon he had melancholy suspicions about them, as being ignorant of his sons condition, and receiving no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state they were in; so, because he was in great fear about them, he sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn the circumstances his brethren were in, and to bring him word how they did.

CHAP. III.

How Joseph was thus sold by his brethren into Egypt, by reason of their hatred to him : and how he there grew famous and illustrious, and had his brethren under his power.

§ 1. Now these brethren rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, or as at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that by divine providence was delivered into their hands ; and they already resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reubel, the eldest of them, saw them thus disposed, and that they had agreed together to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, showing them the heinous enterprise they were going about, and the horrid nature of it : that this action would appear wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even though they should kill one not related to them, but much more flagitious and detestable to appear to have slain their own brother ; by which act the father must be treated unjustly in the son's slaughter, and the *mother also be in perplexity while she laments that her son is taken away from her, and this not in a natural way neither. So he entreated them to have a regard to their own consciences, and wisely to consider what mischief would betide them on the death of so good a child, and their youngest brother ; that they would also fear God, who was already both a spectator and a witness of the designs they had against their brother ; that he would love them if they abstained from this act, and yielded to repentance and amendment : but in case they proceeded to do the fact, all sorts of punishments would overtake them from God for this murder of their brother, since they polluted his providence, which was every where present, and which did not overlook what was done either in deserts or cities ; for where-soever a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is also. He told them further, that their consciences would be their

* We may here observe, that in correspondence to Joseph's second dream, which implied, that his *mother*, who was then alive, as well as his father, should come and bow down to him, Josephus represents her here as still alive after she was dead, for the decorum of the dream that foretold it, as the interpretation of that dream does also in all our copies, Gen. xxxvii. 19.

enemies if they attempted to go through so wicked an enterprise, which they can never avoid, whether it be a good conscience, or whether it be such an one as they will have within them when once they have killed their brother. He also added this besides to what he had before said, that it was not a righteous thing to kill a brother, though he had injured them; that it is a good thing to forget the actions of such near friends, even in things wherein they might seem to have offended; but that they were going to kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, in whose case the infirmity of his small age should rather procure him mercy, and move them to unite together in the care of his preservation. That the cause of killing him made the act itself much worse, while they determined to take him off out of envy at his future prosperity; an equal share of which they would naturally partake while he enjoyed it, since they were to him not strangers, but the nearest relations, for they might reckon upon what God bestowed upon Joseph as their own, and that it was fit for them to believe that the anger of God would for this cause be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that prosperity which was to be hoped for; and while, by murdering him, they made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

2. Reubel said these, and many other things, and used entreaties to them, and thereby endeavoured to divert them from the murder of their brother. But when he saw that his discourse had not mollified them at all, and that they made haste to do the fact, he advised them to alleviate the wickedness they were going about in the manner of taking Joseph off; for as he had exhorted them first, when they were going to revenge themselves, to be dissuaded from doing it, so since the sentence for killing their brother had prevailed, he said that they would not however be so grossly guilty if they would be persuaded to follow his present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so very bad, but, in the distress they were in, of a lighter nature. He begged of them, therefore, not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into the pit that was hard by, and so to let him die; by which they would gain so much, that they would not defile their own hands with his blood. To this the young men readily agreed; so Reubel took the lad, and tied him to a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had no water at all in it; who, when he

had done this, went his way to seek for such pasturage as was fit for feeding their flocks.

3. But Judas, being one of Jacob's sons also, seeing some Arabians, of the posterity of Ishmael, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, after Reubel was gone, advised his brethren to draw Joseph out of the pit, and sell him to the Arabians; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they should be freed from this barbarous action. This therefore was resolved on: so they drew Joseph up out of the pit, and sold him to the merchants for *twenty pounds. He was now seventeen years old. But Reubel coming in the night-time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph, without the privity of his brethren; and when, upon his calling to him, he made him no answer, he was afraid that they had destroyed him after he was gone; of which he complained to his brethren, but when they had told him what they had done, Reubel left off his mourning.

4. When Joseph's brethren had done thus to him, they considered what they should do to escape the suspicions of their father. Now they had taken away from Joseph the coat which he had on when he came to them, at the time they let him down into the pit: so they thought proper to tear that coat to pieces, and to dip it into goat's blood, and then to carry it and show it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts. And when they had so done, they came to the old man, but this not till what had happened to his son had already come to his knowledge: then they said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mishap had befallen him, but that they had found his coat bloody, and torn to pieces, whence they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so perished, if that was the coat he had on when he came from home. Now Jacob had before some better hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that this coat was an evident argument that he was dead, for he well remembered that this was the coat he had on when he sent him to his brethren; so he hereafter lamented the lad as now dead, as if he had been the father of no more than one, without taking any comfort in the rest; and so he

* The Septuagint have 20 pieces of gold; the testament of Gad 30; the Hebrew and Samaritan 20 of silver; and the vulgar Latin 30. What was the true number, and true sum, cannot therefore now be known.

was also affected with his misfortune before he met with Joseph's brethren, when he also conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down also clothed in sack-cloth and in heavy affliction, insomuch that he found no ease when his sons comforted him, neither did his pains remit by length of time.

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CHAP. IV.

Concerning the signal chastity of Joseph.

§ 1. Now Potiphar, an Egyptian, who was chief cook to king Pharaoh, bought Joseph of the merchants, who sold him to him. He had him in the greatest honour, and taught him the learning that became a free man, and gave him leave to make use of a diet better than was allotted to slaves. He intrusted also the care of his house to him. So he enjoyed these advantages; yet did not leave that virtue which he had before upon such a change of his condition, but he demonstrated that wisdom was able to govern the uneasy passions of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only put it on for a show, under a present state of prosperity.

2. For when his master's wife was fallen in love with him both on account of his beauty of body, and his dexterous management of affairs; and supposed, that if she should make it known to him, she should easily persuade him to come and lie with her, and that he would look on it as a piece of happy fortune that his mistress should entreat him, as regarding that state of slavery he was in, and not his moral character, which continued after his condition was changed: so she made known her naughty inclinations, and spake to him about lying with her. However, he rejected her entreaties, not thinking it agreeable to religion to yield so far to her, as to do what would tend to the affront and injury of him that purchased him, and had vouchsafed him so great honours. He, on the contrary, exhorted her to govern that passion; and laid before her the impossibility of her obtaining her desires, which she thought might be conquered, if she had no hope of succeeding: and he said, that as to himself, he would endure any thing whatever, before he would be persuaded to it; for although it was fit for a slave, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, he might well be excused in a case where the contradiction was to

such sort of commands only. But this opposition of Joseph's, when she did not expect it, made her still more violent in her love to him: and she was sorely beset with this naughty passion, so she resolved to compass her design by a second attempt.

3. When, therefore, there was a public festival coming on, in which it was the custom for women to come to the public solemnity, she pretended to her husband that she was sick, as contriving an opportunity for solitude and leisure, that she might entreat Joseph again: which opportunity being obtained, she used more kind words to him than before; and said, that it had been good for him to have yielded to her first solicitation, and to have given her no repulse, both because of the reverence he ought to bear to her dignity, who solicited him, and because of the vehemency of her passion, by which she was forced, though she were his mistress, to condescend beneath her dignity, but that he may now, by taking more prudent advice, wipe off the imputation of his former folly; for whether it were that he expected a repetition of her solicitations, she had now made it, and that with greater earnestness than before, for that she had pretended sickness on this very account, and had preferred his conversation before the festival and its solemnity; or whether he opposed her former discourses, as not believing she could be in earnest, she now gave him sufficient security, by thus repeating her application, that she meant not in the least by fraud to impose upon him; and assured him that if he complied with her affections, he might expect the enjoyment of the advantages he already had; and if he were submissive to her, he should have still greater advantages; but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her in case he rejected her desires and preferred the reputation of chastity before his mistress; for that he would gain nothing by such procedure, because she would then become his accuser, and would falsely pretend to her husband that he attempted her chastity; and that Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his, let this be never so agreeable to the truth.

4. When the woman had said thus, and even with tears in her eyes, neither did pity dissuade Joseph from his chastity, nor did fear compel him to a compliance with her; but he opposed her solicitations, and did not yield to her threatenings, and was afraid to do any ill thing, and chose to undergo the sharpest punishment, rather than to enjoy his present

advantages, by doing what his own conscience knew would justly deserve that he should die for it. He also put her in mind that she was a married woman, and that she ought to cohabit with her husband only; and desired her to suffer these considerations to have more weight with her than the short pleasures of lustful dalliance, which would bring her to repentance afterwards, would cause trouble to her, and yet would not amend what had been done amiss. He also suggested to her the fear she would be in lest they should be caught; and that the advantage of concealment was uncertain, and that only while the wickedness was not known, [would there be any quiet for them;] but that she might have the enjoyment of her husband's company without any danger. And he told her, that in the company of her husband she might have great boldness, from a good conscience, both before God, and before men. Nay, that she would act better like his mistress, and make use of her authority over him better, while she persisted in her chastity, than when they were both ashamed for what wickedness they had been guilty of; and that it is much better to depend on a good life, well acted, and known to have been so, than upon the hopes of the concealment of evil practices.

5. Joseph, by saying this, and more, tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to reduce her affections within the rules of reason; but she grew more ungovernable and earnest in the matter; and since she despaired of persuading him, she laid hands upon him, and had a mind to force him. But as soon as Joseph had got away from her anger, leaving also his garment with her, for he left that to her, and leaped out of her chamber, she was greatly afraid lest he should discover her lewdness to her husband, and greatly troubled at the affront he had offered her, so she resolved to be before hand with him, and to accuse Joseph falsely to Potiphar, and by that means to revenge herself on him for the pride and contempt of her; and she thought it a wise thing in itself, and also becoming a woman, thus to prevent his accusation. Accordingly, she sat sorrowful, and in confusion, framing herself so hypocritically and angrily, that the sorrow, which was really for her being disappointed of her lust, might appear to be for the attempt upon her chastity; so that when her husband came home, and was disturbed at the sight of her, and inquired what was the causes of the disorder she was in, she began to accuse

Joseph : and said, " O husband, mayest thou not live a day longer if thou dost not punish the wicked slave who has desired to defile thy bed ; who has neither minded who he was, when he came to our house, so as to behave himself with modesty : nor has he been mindful of what favours he had received from thy bounty, (as he must be an ungrateful man indeed, unless he, in every respect, carry himself in a manner agreeable to us :) this man, I say, laid a private design to abuse thy wife, and this at the time of a festival, observing when thou wouldst be absent. So that it is now clear that his modesty, as it appeared to be formerly, was only because of the restraint he was in out of fear of thee, but that he was not really of a good disposition. This has been occasioned by his being advanced to honour beyond what he deserved, and what he hoped for, insomuch that he concluded, that he who was deemed fit to be intrusted with thy estate, and the government of thy family, and was preferred above thy eldest servants, might be allowed to touch thy wife also." Thus when she had ended her discourse, she showed him his garment, as if he then left it with her when he attempted to force her. But Potiphar not being able to disbelieve what his wife's tears showed, and what his wife said, and what he saw himself, and being seduced by his love to his wife, did not set himself about the examination of the truth, but taking it for granted that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactor's prison ; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bare her witness, that she was a woman of becoming modesty and chastity.

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CHAP. V.

What things befell Joseph in prison.

§ 1. Now Joseph, commending all his affairs to God, did not betake himself to make his defence, nor to give an account of the exact circumstances of the fact, but silently underwent the bonds and the distress he was in, firmly believing that God, who knew the cause of his affliction, and the truth of the fact, would be more powerful than those that inflicted the punishments upon him ; a proof of whose providence he quickly received : for the keeper of the prison taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had set him about,

and the dignity of his countenance, relaxed his bonds, and thereby made his heavy calamity lighter, and more supportable to him : he also permitted him to make use of a diet better than that of the rest of the prisoners. Now as his fellow-prisoners, when their hard labours were over, fell to discoursing one among another, as is usual in such as are equal sufferers, and to inquire one of another what were the occasions of their being condemned to a prison, among them the king's cup-bearer, and one that had been respected by him, was put in bonds upon the king's anger at him. This man was under the same bonds with Joseph, and grew more familiar with him ; and upon his observing that Joseph had a better understanding than the rest had, he told him of a dream he had, and desired he would interpret its meaning, complaining, that besides the afflictions he underwent from the king, God did also add to him trouble from his dreams.

2. He therefore said, that in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already, and ripe for gathering ; and that he squeezed them into a cup, which the king held in his hand ; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and that he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This he said was what he saw ; and he desired Joseph, that if he had any portion of understanding in such matters, he would tell him what this vision foretold ; who bid him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from his bonds in three days time, because the king desired his service, and was about to restore him to it again : for he let him know, that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good ; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and mutual confidence among men ; and puts an end to their quarrels, takes away passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful. Thou sayest that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the king received it ; know, therefore, that this vision is for thy good, and foretells a release from thy present distress, within the same number of days as the branches had when thou gatheredst thy grapes in thy sleep. However, remember what prosperity I have foretold thee ; when thou hast found it true by experience : and when thou art in authority, do not overlook us in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave us when thou art gone to the place we have foretold ; for we are not in prison for any crime, but for the

sake of our virtue and sobriety are we condemned to suffer the penalty of malefactors, and because we are not willing to injure him that has thus distressed us, though it were for our own pleasure. The cup-bearer, therefore, as was natural to do, rejoiced to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited the completion of what had been thus showed him beforehand.

3. But another servant there was of the king's who had been chief baker, and was now bound in prison with the cup-bearer; he also was in good hope, upon Joseph's interpretation of the other's vision, for he had seen a dream also; so he desired that Joseph would tell him what the visions he had seen the night before might mean. They were these that follow. Methought, says he, I carried three baskets upon my head; two were full of loaves, and the third full of sweetmeats, and other eatables, such as are prepared for kings; but that the fowls came flying, and eat them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to drive them away. And he expected a prediction like that of the cup-bearer's. But Joseph, considering and reasoning about the dream, said to him, that he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not of such as his dream denounced to him; but he told him, that he had only three days in all to live; for that the [three] baskets signify, that on the third day he should be crucified, and devoured by fowls, while he was not able to help himself. Now both these dreams had the same several events that Joseph foretold they should have, and this to both the parties; for on the third day, before mentioned, when the king solemnized his birth-day, he crucified the chief baker, but set the butler free from his bonds, and restored him to his former ministration.

4. But God freed Joseph from his confinement, after he had endured his bonds two years, and had received no assistance from the cup-bearer, who did not remember what he had said to him formerly; and God contrived this method of deliverance for him. Pharaoh, the king, had seen in his sleep, the same evening, two visions; and after them had the interpretation of them both given him. He had forgotten the latter, but retained that of the dreams themselves. Being therefore troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, the next day he called together the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams: but when they

hesitated about them, the king was so much the more disturbed. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in dreams, came into the mind of the king's cup-bearer, when he saw the confusion that Pharaoh was in, so he came and mentioned Joseph to him, as also the vision he had seen in prison, and how the event proved as he had said; as also that the chief baker was crucified on the very same day; and that this also happened him, according to the interpretation of Joseph. That Joseph himself was laid in bonds by Potiphar, who was his head cook, as a slave; but he said, he was one of the noblest of the stock of the Hebrews: and said farther, his father lived in great splendour. If, therefore, thou wilt send for him, and not despise him on the score of his misfortunes, thou wilt learn what thy dreams signify. So the king commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence; and those who received the command came and brought him with them, having taken care of his habit, that it might be decent, as the king had enjoined them to do.

4. But the king took him by the hand, and said, "O young man, my servant bears witness that thou art at present the best and most skilful person I can consult with; vouchsafe me the same favours which thou bestowedst on this servant of mine, and tell me what events they are which the visions of my dreams foreshow: and I desire thee to suppress nothing out of fear; nor to flatter me with lying words, or with what may please me, although the truth should be of a melancholy nature. For it seemed to me, that as I walked by the river, I saw kine fat and very large, seven in number, going from the river to the marshes; and other kine, of the same number like them, beat them out of the marshes, exceeding lean, and illfavoured, which eat up the fat and the large kine, and yet were no better than before, and not less miserably pinched with famine. After I had seen this vision, I waked out of my sleep; and being in disorder, and considering with myself what appearance this should be, I fell asleep again, and saw another dream, much more wonderful than the foregoing, which did still more affright and disturb me. I saw seven ears of corn growing out of one root, having their heads borne down by the weight of the grains, and bending down with the fruit, which was now ripe, and fit for reaping; and near these I saw seven other ears of corn, meager and weak, for want of rain, which fell to eating

and consuming those that were fit for reaping, and put me into great astonishment."

6. To which Joseph replied: "This dream, O king, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same event of things, for when thou sawest the kine, which is an animal made for the plough and for labour, devoured by the worser kine, and the ears of corn eaten up by the smaller ears, they foretell a famine and want of the fruits of the earth for the same number of years, and equal with those when Egypt was in an happy state; and this so far, that the plenty of these years will be spent in the same number of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessary provisions will be very difficult to be corrected; as a sign whereof, the illfavoured kine, when they had devoured the better sort, could not be satisfied. But still God foreshows what is to come upon men, not to grieve them, but that when they know it beforehand, they may, by prudence, make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. If thou, therefore, carefully dispose of the plentiful crops which will come in the former years, thou wilt procure that the future calamity will not be felt by the Egyptians."

7. Hereupon the king wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him by what means he might so dispense the foregoing plentiful crops in the happy years as to make the miserable crops more tolerable. Joseph then added this his advice: to spare the good crops, and not permit the Egyptians to spend them luxuriously, but to reserve what they would have spent in luxury, beyond their necessity, against the time of want. He also exhorted him to take the corn of the husbandmen, and give them only so much as would be sufficient for their food. Accordingly, Pharaoh being surprised at Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream, but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him dispensing the corn; with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, as believing that he who first discovered this method of acting, would prove the best overseer of it. But Joseph having this power given him by the king, with leave to make use of his seal, and to wear purple, drove in his chariot through all the land of Egypt; and * took the corn of the husbandmen, allotting as much to every one as

* That is, bought it for Pharaoh, at a very low price.

would be sufficient for seed, and for food, but without discovering to any one the reason he did so.

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CHAP. VI.

How Joseph, when he was become famous in Egypt, had his brethren in subjection.

§ 1. JOSEPH was now grown up to thirty years of age; and enjoyed great honours from the king, who called him *Psothom Phanech*, out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom, for that name denotes *the revealer of secrets*. He also married a wife of a very high quality: for he married the daughter of * *Petephres*, one of the priests of Heliopolis: she was a virgin, and her name was *Asenath*. By her he had children before the scarcity came on, *Manasseh*, the elder, which signifies *forgetful*, because his present happiness made him forget his misfortunes; and *Ephraim*, the younger, which signifies *restored*, because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers. Now after Egypt had happily passed over seven years, according to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the famine came upon them in the eighth year; and because this misfortune fell upon them when they had † no sense of it beforehand, they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly a saviour to the whole multitude of the Egyptians. Nor did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also, Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally a-kin to one another, should have assistance from those that lived in happiness.

* This *Potiphar*, or as in Josephus, *Petephres*, who was now a priest of On or Heliopolis, is the same name in Josephus, and perhaps in Moses also, with him who is before called the *head cook or captain of the guard*, and to whom Joseph was sold. See Gen. xxxvii. 36. xxxix. 1. with xli. 50. They are also affirmed to be one and the same person in the testament of Joseph, § 18. for he is there said to have married the daughter of his master and mistress. Nor is this a notion peculiar to that testament; but, as Dr. Barnard confesses, note on Antiq. B. ii. ch. iv. § 1. common to Josephus, to the Septuagint interpreters, and to other learned Jews of old time.

† This entire ignorance of the Egyptians of these years of famine before they came, told us before, as well as here, ch. v. § 7, by Josephus, seems to be almost incredible. It is in no other copy that I know of

2. Now Jacob also, when he understood that foreigners might come, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn, for the land of Canaan was grievously afflicted with the famine; and this great misery touched the whole continent. He only retained Benjamin, who was born to him by Rachel, and was of the same mother with Joseph. The sons of Jacob then came into Egypt, and applied themselves to Joseph, wanting to buy corn; for nothing of this kind was done without his approbation, since even then only was the honour that was paid to the king himself advantageous to the persons that paid it, when they took care to honour Joseph also. Now when he well knew his brethren, they thought nothing of him, for he was but a youth when he left them, and was now come to an age so much greater, that the lineaments of his face were changed, and he was not known by them; besides this, the greatness of his dignity wherein he appeared suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He now made trial what sentiments they had about affairs of the greatest consequence; for he refused to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the king's affairs; and that they came from several countries, and joined themselves together, and pretended that they were of kin, it not being possible that a private man should breed up so many sons, and those of so great beauty of countenance as they were, such an education of so many children being not easily obtained by kings themselves. Now this he did in order to discover what concerned his father, and what happened to him after his own departure from him, and as desiring to know what was become of Benjamin his brother: for he was afraid that they had ventured on the like wicked enterprise against him, that they had done to himself, and had taken him off also.

3. Now these brethren of his were under distraction and terror, and thought that very great danger hung over them; yet not at all reflecting on their brother Joseph, and standing firm under the accusations laid against them, they made their defence by Reubel, the eldest of them, who now became their spokesman: "We come not hither, said he, with any unjust design, nor in order to bring any harm to the king's affairs, we only want to be preserved, as supposing your humanity might be a refuge for us from the miseries which our country labours under, we having heard that you proposed to sell corn, not only to your own countrymen, but to strangers also, and that you determined to allow that corn

in order to preserve all that want it: but that we are brethren, and of the same common blood, the peculiar lineaments of our face, and those not much different from one another, plainly show. Our father's name is *Jacob*, an Hebrew man, who had twelve of us for his sons, by four wives; which twelve of us, while we were all alive, were an happy family; but when one of our brethren, whose name was *Joseph*, died, our affairs changed for the worse; for our father could not forbear to make a long lamentation for him, and we are in affliction, both by the calamity of the death of our brother, and the miserable state of our aged father. We are now, therefore, come to buy corn, having intrusted the care of our father, and the provision for our family, to Benjamin, our youngest brother; and if thou sendest to our house, thou mayest learn whether we are guilty of the least falsehood in what we say."

4. And thus did Reubel endeavour to persuade Joseph to have a better opinion of them. But when he had learned from them that Jacob was alive, and that his brother was not destroyed by them, he for the present put them in prison, as intending to examine more into their affairs when he should be at leisure. But on the third day he brought them out, and said to them, that since you constantly affirm that you are not come to do any harm to the king's affairs; that you are brethren, and the sons of the father whom you named, you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no injury here; and if, when you have carried corn to your father, you will come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you say you left there, along with you; for this shall be by me esteemed an assurance of the truth of what you have told me. Hereupon they were in greater grief than before: they wept, and perpetually deplored one among another the calamity of Joseph; and said, "They were fallen into this misery, as a punishment inflicted by God for what evil contrivances they had against him." And Reubel was large in his reproaches to them for their too late repentance, whence no profit arose to Joseph; and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of punishment on his account. Thus they spake to one another, not imagining that Joseph understood their language. A general sadness also seized on them at Reubel's words, and a repentance for what they had done; and

they condemned the wickedness they had perpetrated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was so affected at it, that he fell into tears, and not being willing that they should take notice of him, he retired ; and after a while came to them again, and taking * Simeon, in order to his being a pledge for his brethren's return, he bid them take the corn they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money, which they had brought with them for the purchase of corn, into their sacks, and to dismiss them therewith ; who did what he was commanded to do.

5. Now when Jacob's sons were come into the land of Canaan, they told their father what had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were taken to have come thither as spies on the king ; and how they said they were brethren ; and had left their eleventh brother with their father, but were not believed ; and how they had left Simeon with the governor, until Benjamin should go thither, and be a testimonial of the truth of what they had said : and they begged of their father to fear nothing, but to send the lad along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with any thing his sons had done ; and he took the detention of Simeon heinously, and thence thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reubel's persuasion, though he begged it of him ; and gave leave that the grandfather might, in way of requital, kill his own sons, in case any harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were distressed, and knew not what to do : nay, there was another accident that still disturbed them more, the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had bought failed them, and when the famine still afflicted them, and necessity forced them, Jacob did † [not] still resolve to send Benjamin with his brethren, although there was no returning into Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. Now the misery growing every day worse, and

* The reason why Simeon might be selected out of the rest for Joseph's prisoner, is plain in the testament of Simeon. viz. that he was one of the bitterest of all Joseph's brethren against him, † 2. which appears also in part by the testament of Zebulon : † 3.

† The coherence seems to me to show, that the negative particle is here wanting, which I have supplied in bracket, and I wonder none have hitherto suspected it ought to be supplied.

his sons begging it of him, he had no other course to take in his present circumstances. And Judas, who was of a bold temper on other occasions, spake his mind very freely to him: "That it did not become him to be afraid on account of his son, nor to suspect the worst, as he did, for nothing could be done to his son but by the appointment of God, which must also for certain come to pass though he were at home with him: that he ought not to condemn them to such manifest destruction; nor deprive them of that plenty of food they might have from Pharaoh, by his unreasonable fear about his son Benjamin, but ought to take care of the preservation of Simeon, lest, by attempting to hinder Benjamin's journey, Simeon should perish. He exhorted them to trust God for him; and said, he would either bring his son back to him safe, or, together with his, lose his own life." So that Jacob was at length persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with the price of the corn doubled: he also sent presents to Joseph of the fruits of the land of Canaan, * balsam, and rosin, as also turpentine, and honey. Now their father shed many tears at the departure of his sons, as well as themselves. His concern was that he might receive them back again safe after their journey; and their concern was, that they might find their father well, and no way afflicted with grief for them. And this lamentation lasted a whole day: so that the old man was at last tired with grief, and stayed behind; but they went on their way for Egypt, endeavouring to mitigate their grief for their present misfortunes, with the hopes of better success hereafter.

6. As soon as they came into Egypt, they were brought down to Joseph: but here no small fear disturbed them, lest they should be accused about the price of the corn, as if they had cheated Joseph. They then made a long apology to Joseph's steward; and told him, that when they came home they found the money in their sacks, and that they had now brought it along with them. He said, he did not know what they meant. So they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Simeon, and put him into an handsome habit, he suffered him to be with his brethren; at which time Joseph came from his attendance on the king. So they offered him their presents: and upon his putting the question to them about their father, they answered, that they

* Of the precious balsam of Judea, and the turpentine, see the note on Antiq. B. viii. ch. vi. § 6.

found him well. He also, upon his discovery that Benjamin was alive, asked, whether this was their younger brother, for he had seen him. Whereupon they said he was: he replied, that the God over all was his protector. But when his affection to him made him shed tears, he retired, desiring he might not be seen in that plight by his brethren. Then Joseph took them to supper; and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at their father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a mess to Benjamin that was double to what the rest of the guests had for their shares.

7. Now, when after supper they had composed themselves to sleep, Joseph commanded his steward both to give them their measures of corn, and to hide its price again in their sacks; and that withall they should put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup, out of which he himself loved to drink. Which things he did in order to make trial of his brethren, whether they would stand by Benjamin when he should be accused of having stolen the cup, and should appear to be in danger; or whether they would leave him, and, depending on their own innocency, go to their father without him. When the servant had done as he was bidden, the sons of Jacob, knowing nothing of all this, went their way, and took Simeon along with them, and had a double cause of joy, both because they had received him again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father, as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen encompassed them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected attack of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and asked what the reason was that they thus came upon men, who a little before had been by their lord thought worthy of an honourable and hospitable reception: They replied, by calling them wicked wretches, who had forgot that very hospitable and kind treatment which Joseph had given them, and did not scruple to be injurious to him; and to carry off that cup out of which he had, in so friendly a manner, drank to them, not regarding their friendship with Joseph, no more than the danger they should be in if they were taken, in comparison of the unjust gain. Hereupon he threatened that they should be punished; for though they had escaped the knowledge of him, who was but a servant, yet they had not escaped the knowledge of God, nor had gone off with what they had

stolen; and after all, asked, why we come upon them, as if they knew nothing of the matter: and he told them, that they should immediately know it by their punishment. This, and more of the same nature, did the servant say, in way of reproach to them: but they being wholly ignorant of any thing here that concerned them, laughed at what he said, and wondered at the abusive language which the servant gave them, when he was so hardy as to accuse those who did not before so much as retain the price of their corn, which was found in their sacks, but brought it again, though nobody else knew of any such thing, so far were they from offering any injury to Joseph voluntarily. But still, supposing that a search would be a more sure justification of themselves than their own denial of the fact, they bid him search them, and that if any of them had been guilty of the theft, to punish them all; for being no way conscious to themselves of any crime, they spake with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger to themselves also. The servants desired there might be a search made; but they said, the punishment should extend to him alone who should be found guilty of the theft. So they made the search; and having searched all the rest, they came last of all to Benjamin, as knowing it was Benjamin's sack in which they had hidden the cup, they having indeed searched the rest only for a show of accuracy; so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin, but still were well assured that he would also be found innocent; and they reproached those that came after them for their hindering them, while they might, in the mean while, have gotten a good way of their journey. But as soon as they had searched Benjamin's sack, they found the cup, and took it from him; and all was changed to mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother was to undergo for his theft; and for the delusion they had put on their father when they promised they would bring Benjamin safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came unfortunately at a time when they thought they had been gotten off clear: but they confessed, that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief of their father for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them, when he was averse to it.

8. The horsemen, therefore, took Benjamin and brought him to Joseph, his brethren also following him; who, when he saw him in custody, and them in the habit of mourners, said, "How come you, vile wretches as you are, to have such a strange notion of my kindness to you, and of God's providence, as impudently to do this to your benefactor, who, in such a hospitable manner had entertained you?" Whereupon they gave up themselves to be punished, in order to save Benjamin; and called to mind what a wicked enterprise they had been guilty of against Joseph. They also pronounced him more happy than themselves, if he were dead, in being freed from the miseries of this life; and, if he were alive, that he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing God's vengeance upon them. They said farther, that they were the plague of their father, since they should now add to his former affliction for Joseph, this other affliction for Benjamin. Reubel also was large in cutting them upon this occasion. But Joseph dismissed them, for he said they had been guilty of no offence, and that he would content himself with the lad's punishment, for he said, it was not a fit thing to let him go free for the sake of those who had not offended; nor was it a fit thing to punish them together with him who had been guilty of stealing. And when he promised to give them leave to go away in safety, the rest of them were under great consternation, and were able to say nothing on this sad occasion. But Judas, who had persuaded their father to send the lad from him, being otherwise also a very bold and active man, determined to hazard himself for the preservation of his brother. " * It is true, said he, O governor, that we have been very wicked with regard to thee, and on that account deserve punishment; even all of us may justly be punished, although the theft were not committed by all, but only by one of us, and he the youngest also: but yet there remains some hope for us, who otherwise must be under despair on his account, and this from thy goodness, which promises us a deliverance out of our present danger. And now, I beg thou wilt not look at us, or at that great crime we have been

* This oration seems to me too large, and too unusual a digression, to have been composed by Judas on this occasion. It seems to me a speech or declamation composed formerly, in the person of Judas, and in the way of oratory, that lay by him, and which he thought fit to insert on this occasion: See two more such speeches or declamations, *Antiq. B. vi. ch. xiv. § 4.*

guilty of, but at thy own excellent nature, and take advice of thine own virtue, instead of that wrath thou hast against us: which passion, those that otherwise are of a low character indulge, as they do their strength, and that not only on great, but also on very trifling occasions. Overcome, sir, that passion, and be not subdued by it, nor suffer it to slay those that do not otherwise presume upon their own safety, but are desirous to accept of it from thee; for this is not the first time that thou wilt bestow it on us, but before, when we came to buy corn, thou affordest us great plenty of food, and gavest us leave to carry so much home to our family as has preserved them from perishing by famine. Nor is there any difference between not overlooking men that were perishing for want of necessities, and not punishing those that seem to be offenders, and have been so unfortunate as to lose the advantage of that glorious benefaction which they received from thee. This will be an instance of equal favour, though bestowed after a different manner; for thou wilt save those this way whom thou didst feed the other; and thou wilt hereby preserve alive, and by thy own bounty, those souls which thou didst not suffer to be distressed by famine, it being indeed at once a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon, whereby now we are distressed, we may continue those lives. And I am ready to suppose, that God is willing to afford thee this opportunity of showing thy virtuous disposition, by bringing us into this calamity, that it may appear thou canst forgive the injuries that are done to thyself; and mayest be esteemed kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of thy assistance, since it is indeed a right thing to do well to those who are in distress for want of food, but still a more glorious thing to save those who deserve to be punished, when it is on account of heinous offences against thyself; for if it be a thing deserving condemnation to forgive such as have been guilty of small offences, that tend to a person's loss, and this be praiseworthy in him that overlooks such offences, to restrain a man's passion, as to crimes which are capital to the guilty, is to be like the most excellent nature of God himself. And truly, as for myself, had it not been that we had a father, who had discovered, on occasion of the death of Joseph, how miserably he is always afflicted at the loss of his sons, I had not made any words on account of the saving of our own lives; I mean,

any farther than as that would be an excellent character for thyself, to preserve even those that would have nobody to lament them when they were dead, but we would have yielded ourselves up to suffer whatsoever thou pleasedst: but now (for we do not plead for mercy to ourselves, though indeed, if we die, it will be while we are young, and before we have had the enjoyment of life,) have regard to our father, and take pity of his old age, on whose account it is that we make these supplications to thee. We beg thou wilt give us those lives which this wickedness of ours has rendered obnoxious to thy punishment; and this for his sake who is not himself wicked, nor does his being our father make us wicked. He is a good man, and not worthy to have such trials of his patience; and now we are absent, is he afflicted with care for us. But if he hear of our deaths, and what was the cause of it, he will on that account die an immature death: and the reproachful manner of our ruin will hasten his end, and will directly kill him, nay, will bring him to a miserable death, while he will make haste to rid himself out of the world, and bring himself to a state of insensibility before the sad story of our end come abroad into the rest of the world. Consider things in this manner, although our wickedness does not provoke thee with a just desire of punishing that wickedness, and forgive it for our father's sake; and let thy commiseration of him weigh more with thee than our wickedness. Have regard to the old age of our father, who, if we perish, will be very lonely while he lives, and will soon die himself also. Grant this boon to the name of fathers, for thereby thou wilt honour him that begat thee, and will grant it to thyself also, who enjoyest already that denomination: thou wilt then, by that denomination, be preserved of God, the father of all, by showing a pious regard to which, in the case of our father, thou wilt appear to honour him who is styled by the same name; I mean, if thou wilt have this pity on our father, upon this consideration, how miserable he will be if he be deprived of his sons. It is thy part, therefore, to bestow on us what God has given us, when it is in thy power to take it away, and so to resemble him entirely in charity: for it is good to use that power, which can either give or take away, on the merciful side; and when it is in thy power to destroy, to forget that thou ever hadst that power; and to look on thyself as only allowed power for preservation; and that the more any one extends this

power, the greater reputation does he gain to himself. Now by forgiving our brother what he has unhappily committed, thou wilt preserve us all: for we cannot think of living if he be put to death, since we dare not show ourselves alive to our father without our brother, but here must we partake of one and the same catastrophe of his life. And so far we beg of thee, O governor, that if thou condemnest our brother to die, thou wilt punish us together with him, as partners of the crime; for we shall not think it reasonable to be reserved to kill ourselves for grief of our brother's death, but so to die, rather as equally guilty with him of this crime. I will only leave with thee this one consideration, and then will say no more, viz. that our brother committed his fault when he was young, and not yet of confirmed wisdom in his conduct, and that men naturally forgive such young persons. And I end here, without adding what more I have to say, that in case thou condemnest us, that omission may be supposed to have hurt us, and permitted thee to take the severer side. But in case thou settest us free, that this may be ascribed to thy own goodness, of which thou art inwardly conscious, that thou freest us from condemnation; and that not by barely preserving us, but by granting us such a favour as will make us appear more righteous than we really are, and by representing to thyself more motives for our deliverance than we are able to produce ourselves. If, therefore, thou resolvest to slay him, I desire thou wilt slay me in his stead, and send him back to his father; or if thou pleasest to retain him with thee as a slave, I am fitter to labour for thy advantage in that capacity, and as thou seest, am better prepared for either of * those sufferings." So Judas, being very willing to undergo any thing whatever for the deliverance of his brother, cast himself down at Joseph's feet, and earnestly laboured to assuage and pacify his anger. All his brethren also fell down before him, weeping, and delivering themselves up to destruction for the preservation of the life of Benjamin.

9. But Joseph, as overcome now with his affections, and no longer able to personate an angry man, commanded all that were present to depart, that he might make himself

* In all this speech of Judas, we may observe, that Josephus still supposed that death was the punishment of theft in Egypt, in the days of Joseph, though it never was so among the Jews by the law of Moses.

known to his brethren when they were alone. And when the rest were gone out, he made himself known to his brethren ; and said, " I commend you for your virtue, and your kindness to our brother ; I find you better men than I could have expected from what you contrived about me. Indeed, I did all this to try your love to your brother ; so I believe you were not wicked by nature, in what you did in my case, but that all has happened according to God's will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of what good things we have ; and if he continue in a favourable disposition, of what we hope for hereafter. Since, therefore, I know that our father is safe and well beyond expectation ; and I see you so well disposed to your brother, I will no longer remember what guilt you seem to have had about me, but will leave off to hate you for that your wickedness, but do rather return you my thanks, that you have concurred with the intentions of God to bring things to their present state. I would have you also rather to forget the same, since that imprudence of yours is come to such an happy conclusion, than to be uneasy and blush at those your offences. Do not, therefore, let your evil intentions, when you condemned me, and that bitter remorse which might follow, be a grief to you now, because those intentions were frustrated. Go, therefore, your way rejoicing in what has happened by the divine providence, and inform your father of it, lest he should be spent with cares for you, and deprive me of the most agreeable part of my felicity ; I mean, lest he should die before he come into my sight, and enjoys the good things that we now have. Bring, therefore with you, our father, and your wives, and children, and all your kindred, and remove your habitation hither ; for it is not proper that the persons dearest to me should live remote from me now my affairs are so prosperous, especially when they must endure five more years of famine." When Joseph had said this, he embraced his brethren, who were in tears and sorrow ; but the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave among them no room for fear, lest they should be punished on account of what they had consulted and acted against him. And they were then feasting. Now the king, as soon as he heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding glad of it, as if it had been a part of his own good fortune ; and gave them wagons full of corn, and gold, and silver, to be conveyed to their father. Now when they had received

more of their brother, part to be carried to their father, and part as free gifts to every one of themselves, Benjamin having still more than the rest, they departed.

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CHAP. VII.

The removal of Joseph's father, with his family, to him, on account of the famine.

§ 1. As soon as Jacob came to know, by his sons returning home, in what state Joseph was, that he had not only escaped death, for which he yet lived all along in mourning, but that he lived in splendour and happiness, and ruled over Egypt jointly with the king, and had intrusted to his care almost all his affairs, he did not think any thing he was told to be incredible, considering the greatness of the works of God, and his kindness to him, although that kindness had, for some late times, been intermitted, so he immediately and zealously set out upon his journey to him.

2. When he came to the well of the oath, [Beersheba,] he offered sacrifice to God : and being afraid that the happiness there was in Egypt might tempt his posterity to fall in love with it, and settle in it, and no more think of removing into the land of Canaan, and possessing it, as God had promised them ; as also being afraid, lest if this descent into Egypt were made without the will of God, his family might be destroyed there ; out of fear withall, lest he should depart this life before he came to the sight of Joseph, he fell asleep, revolving these doubts in his mind.

3. But God stood by him, and called to him twice by his name ; and when he asked, who he was, God said, " No, sure, it is not just that thou Jacob shouldst be unacquainted with that God who has been ever a protector and an helper to thy forefathers, and after them to thyself : for when thy father would have deprived thee of the dominion, I gave it thee ; and by my kindness it was, that when thou wast sent into Mesopotamia all alone, thou obtainedst good wives, and returnedst with many children, and much wealth. Thy whole family also has been preserved by my providence ; and it was I who conducted Joseph thy son, whom thou gavest up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, so that he differs but little from a king. Accordingly, I come now as a guide to thee in this journey ;

and foretell to thee, that thou shalt die in the arms of Joseph; and I inform thee, that thy posterity shall be many ages in authority and glory, and that I will settle them in the land which I have promised them."

4. Jacob, encouraged by his dream, went on more cheerfully for Egypt, with his sons, and all belonging to them. Now they were in all seventy. I once indeed thought it best not to set down the name of this family, especially because of their difficult pronounciation [by the Greeks;] but, upon the whole, I think it necessary to mention those names, that I may disprove such as I believe, that we came originally not out of Mesopotamia, but are Egyptians. Now Jacob had twelve sons, of these Joseph was come thither before.

We will, therefore, set down the name of Jacob's children, and grandchildren. Reubel had four sons, Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi. Simeon had six, Jamuel, Jamin, Avod, Jachin, Soar, Saul. Levi had three sons, Gersom, Caath, Merari. Judas had three sons, Sala, Phares, Zerah; and by Phares two grandchildren, Esrom and Amur. Issachar had four sons, Thola, Phua, Jasub, Samaron. Zabulon had with him three sons, Sarad, Helon, Jalel. So far is the posterity of Leah; with whom went her daughter Dina. These are thirty-three. Rachel had two sons, the one of which, Joseph, had two sons also, Manasseh and Ephraim. The other Benjamin, had ten sons, Bolau, Bacchar, Asabel, Geras, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Memphis, Opphis, Arad. These fourteen added to the thirty-three, before enumerated, amount to the number forty-seven. And this was the legitimate posterity of Jacob. He had besides by Bilha, the handmaid of Rachel, Dan and Nephthali, which last had four sons that followed him, Jessel, Guni, Isari, and Selim. Dan had an only begotten son, Usi. If these be added to those before mentioned, they complete the number fifty-four. Gad and Aser were the sons of Zilpha, who was the handmaid of Leah. These had with them, Gad seven; Saphoniah, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Eroed, Ariel. Aser had a daughter, Sarah, and six male children, whose names were Jomne, Isus, Isoui, Baras, Abar, and Melchiel. If we add these, which are sixteen, to the fifty-four, the forementioned number [70] is completed, * Jacob not being himself included in that number.

* All the Greek copies of Josephus have the negative particle here, that Jacob himself was *not* reckoned one of the 70 souls that came into Egypt; but the old Latin copies want it, and directly as-

5. When Joseph understood that his father was coming, for Judas his brother was come before him, and informed him of his approach, he went out to meet him; and they met together at Heroopolis. But Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected and great joy; however, Joseph revived him, being yet not himself able to contain from being affected in the same manner; at the pleasure he now had, yet was he not wholly overcome with his passion, as his father was. After this, he desired Jacob to travel on slowly; but he himself took five of his brethren with him, and made haste to the king, to tell him that Jacob and his family were come, which was a joyful hearing to him. He also bid Joseph tell him what sort of life his brethren loved to lead, that he might give them leave to follow the same; who told him, they were good shepherds, and had been used to follow no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them, that they should not be separated, but live in the same place, and take care of their father; as also hereby he provided, that they might be acceptable to the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would be common to them with the Egyptians; for the Egyptians * are prohibited to meddle with the feeding of sheep.

6. When Jacob was come to the king and saluted him, and wished all prosperity to his government, Pharaoh asked him, how old he now was: upon whose answer, he was an hundred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he had added, that still he had not lived so long as his forefathers, he gave him leave to live with his children in Heliopolis; for in that city the king's shepherds had their pasturage.

7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians; and this heavy judgment grew more oppressive to them, because neither did the river overflow the ground, for it did not rise to its former height, nor did God † send rain upon it;

sure as he was one of them. 'Tis therefore hardly certain which of these was Josephus's true reading, since the number 70 is made up without him, if we reckon Leah for one; but if she be not reckoned, Jacob must himself be one, to complete the number.

* Josephus thought that the Egyptians hated or despised the employment of a shepherd in the days of Joseph; whereas Bishop Cumberland has shown, that they rather hated such Phœnician or Canaanite shepherds that had long enslaved the Egyptians of old time. See his *Sanchoniatho*, p. 361, 372.

† Reland here puts the question, how Josephus could complain of

nor did they indeed make the least provision for themselves, so ignorant were they what was to be done: but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they bought corn with their cattle, and their slaves; and if any of them had a small piece of land, they gave up that to purchase them food, by which means the king became the owner of all their substance; and they were removed some to one place, and some to another, that so the possession of their country might be firmly assured to the king; excepting the lands of the priests, for their country continued still in their own possession. And indeed this sore famine made their minds as well as their bodies slaves; and at length compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonourable means. But when this misery ceased, and the river overflowed the ground, and the ground brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph came to every city, and gathered the people thereto belonging together, and gave them back entirely the land, which, by their own consent, the king might have possessed alone, and alone enjoyed the fruits of it. He also exhorted them to look on it as every ones own possession; and to fall to their husbandry with cheerfulness; and to pay as a tribute to the king, the * fifth part of the fruits for the land which the king, when it was his own, restored to them. These men rejoiced upon their becoming unexpectedly owners of their lands, and diligently observed what was enjoined to them. And by this means Joseph procured to himself a greater authority among the Egyptians, and greater love to the king from them. Now this law, that they should pay the fifth part of their fruits as tribute, continued until their latter kings.

its not raining in Egypt during this famine, while the ancients affirm that it never does naturally rain there. His answer is, that when the ancients deny that it rains in Egypt, they only mean the Upper Egypt above the Delta, which is called *Egypt*, in the strictest sense; but that in Delta, [and by consequence in the Lower Egypt adjoining to it.] it did of old, and still does rain sometimes. See the note, Antiq. B. iii. ch. 1. §. 6.

* Josephus supposes, that Joseph now restored the Egyptians their lands again, upon the payment of a fifth part as a tribute. It seems to me rather that the land was now considered as Pharaoh's lands, and this fifth part as its rent, to be paid by them, as he was their landlord, and they his tenants; and that the lands were not properly restored, and this fifth part reserved as tribute only, till the days of Sesostrius. See Essay on the Old Testament, append. p. 148, 149.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the death of Jacob and Joseph.

§ 1. Now when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell into a disease, and died in the presence of his sons; but not till he made his prayers for their enjoying prosperity, and till he had told to them, prophetically, how every one of them was to dwell in the land of Canaan. But this happened many years afterward. He also * enlarged upon the praises of Joseph; how he had not remembered the evil doings of his brethren to their disadvantage; nay, on the contrary, was kind to them, bestowing upon them so many benefits, as seldom are bestowed on men's own benefactors. He then commanded his own sons that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them; concerning whom we shall treat hereafter. However, he made it his request, that he might be buried at Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full an hundred and fifty years, three only abated, having not been behind any of his ancestors in piety towards God; and having such a recompense for it as it was fit those should have who were so good as these were. But Joseph, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it, at a great expense. Now his brethren were at first unwilling to return back with him, because they were afraid, lest, now their father was dead, he should punish them for their secret practices against him, since he was now gone for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. But he persuaded them to fear no harm, and to entertain no suspicions of him: so he brought them along with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his particular concern for them.

2. Joseph also died when he had lived an hundred and ten years; having been a man of admirable virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and used his authority with moderation, which was the cause of his so great felicity among the Egyptians, even when he came from an-

* As to this encomium upon Joseph, as preparatory to Jacob's adopting Ephraim and Manasseh into his own family, and to be admitted for two tribes, which Josephus here mentions, all our copies of Genesis omit it, ch. xlviii. nor do we know whence he took it, or whether it be not his own embellishment only.

other country, and that in such ill circumstances also, as we have already described. At length his brethren died, after they had lived happily in Egypt. Now the posterity and sons of these men after some time carried their bodies, and buried them at Hebron; but as to the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath. But what became of every one of these men, and by what toils they got the possession of the land of Canaan, shall be shown hereafter, when I have first explained upon what account it was they left Egypt.

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CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the afflictions that befell the Hebrews in Egypt, during * four hundred years.*

§ 1. Now it happened that the Egyptians grew delicate and lazy, as to pains taking, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain. They also became very ill-affected towards the Hebrews, as touched with envy at their prosperity: for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become eminent already in plenty of wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue, and natural love of labour, they thought their increase was to their own detriment. And having, in length of time, forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly the crown being now come into another family, they became very abusive to the Israelites, and contrived many ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities, and ramparts, that they might restrain the river, and hinder its waters from stagnating, upon its running over its own banks. They set them also to † build pyramids,

* As to the affliction of Abraham's posterity for 400 years, see Antiq. B. i. ch. x. † 3. And as to what cities they built in Egypt under Pharaoh Sesostris, and of Pharaoh Sesostris's drowning in the Red Sea; see Essay on the Old Test. append. p. 139—162.

† Of this building of the pyramids of Egypt by the Israelites, see Perizonius Orig. Ægyptiæ, ch. xxi. 'Tis not impossible they might build one or more of the small ones, but the large ones seem much later; only, if they be all built of stone, this does not so well agree with the Israelites labours, which are said to have been in brick, and not in stone: as Mr. Sandys observes in his Travels, p. 127, 128.

and by all this wore them out ; and forced them to learn all sorts of mechanical arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labour. And four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions ; for they strove one against the other which should get the mastery, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites by these labours, and the Israelites desiring to hold out to the end under them.

2. While the affairs of the Hebrews were in this condition, there was this occasion offered itself to the Egyptians, which made them more solicitous for the extinction of our nation. One of these sacred * scribes, who are very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king, that about this time there would be a child born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites : that he would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages. Which thing was so feared by the king, that, according to this man's opinion, he commanded that they should cast every male child, which was born to the Israelites, into the river, and destroy it : that besides this, the † Egyptian midwives should watch the labours of the Hebrew women, and observe what is born, for those were the women who were enjoined to do the office of midwives to them ; and by reason of their relation to the king, would not transgress his commands. He enjoined also, that if any parents should disobey him, and venture to spare their ‡ male children alive,

* Dr Bernard informs us here, that instead of this single priest or prophet of the Egyptians, without a name in Josephus, the Targum of Jonathan names the two most famous antagonists of Moses, Jannes and Jambres. Nor is it at all unlikely, that it might be one of these who foreboded so much misery to the Egyptians, and so much happiness to the Israelites, from the rearing of Moses.

† Josephus is clear that these midwives were Egyptians, and not Israelites, as in our other copies ; which is very probable, it being not easily to be supposed, that Pharaoh could trust the Israelite midwives to execute so barbarous a command against their own nation. Consult, therefore, and correct hence our ordinary copies, *Exod. i. 15—22*. And, indeed, Josephus seems to have had much completer copies of the Pentateuch or other authentic records now lost, about the birth and actions of Moses, than either our Hebrew, Samaritan, or Greek Bibles afford us, which enabled him to be so large and particular about him.

‡ Of this grandfather of Sesostris, Ramestes the great, who slew the Israelite infants, and of the inscription on his obelisk, containing, in my opinion, one of the oldest records of mankind ; see *Essay on the Old Test. append. p. 139. 145. 217—220*.

they and their families should be destroyed. This was a severe affliction indeed to those that suffered it, not only as they were deprived of their sons, and while they were the parents themselves, they were obliged to be subservient to the destruction of their own children, but as it was to be supposed to tend to the extirpation of their nation, while upon the destruction of their children, and their own gradual dissolution, the calamity would become very hard and inconsolable to them. And this was the ill state they were in. But no one can be too hard for the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtle devices for that end: for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold, was brought up and concealed from the observers appointed by the king; and he that foretold him, did not mistake in the consequences of his preservation, which were brought to pass after the manner following.

3. A man whose name was Amram, one of the nobler sort of the Hebrews, was afraid for his whole nation, lest it should fail, by the want of young men to be brought up hereafter, and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, and he knew not what to do. Hereupon he betook himself to prayer to God; and entreated him to have compassion on those men who had no ways transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render abortive their enemies hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly, God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He stood by him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of his future favours. He said farther, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and would always reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favour to their forefathers, and made them increase from a few to so great a multitude. He put him in mind, that when Abraham was come alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, he had been made happy, not only in other respects, but that when his wife was at first barren, she was afterward by him enabled to conceive seed, and bare him sons. That they left to Ishmael, and to his posterity, the country of Arabia; as also to his sons by Keturah, Troglodytis; and to Isaac, Canaan. That by my assistance, said he, he did great exploits in war, which, unless you be yourselves impious, you must still remember. As for Jacob, he became well known to strangers also, by the greatness of that prosperity in which he lived, and left to

his sons, who came into Egypt with no more than seventy souls, while you are now become above six hundred thousand. Know, therefore, that I shall provide for you all in common what is for your good, and particularly for thyself what shall make thee famous; for that child, out of dread of whose nativity the Egyptians have doomed the Israelite children to destruction, shall be this child of thine, and shall be concealed from those who watch to destroy him: and when he is brought up, in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the distress they are under from the Egyptians. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts; and this not only among the Hebrews, but foreigners also. All which shall be the effect of my favour to thee, and to thy posterity. He shall also have such a brother, that he shall himself obtain my priesthood, and his posterity shall have it after him to the end of the world.

4. When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awaked, and told it to Jochebed, who was his wife. And now the fear increased upon them, on account of the prediction in Amram's dream; for they were under concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to him also. However, the mother's labour was such as afforded a confirmation to what was foretold by God, for it was not known to those that watched her, by the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her delivery did not fall upon her with violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time, Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and by falling under the king's displeasure, both he and his child should perish, and so he should make the promise of God of none effect, he determined rather to intrust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him, which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child, so privately to be nourished, and himself, should be in imminent danger; but he believed that God would some way for certain procure the safety of the child, in order to secure the truth of his own predictions. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of bulrushes, after the manner of a cradle, and of a bigness sufficient for an infant to be laid in, without being too much straightened: they then daubed it over with slime, which would naturally keep out the water from entering between the bulrushes, and put the infant into it, and setting it afloat upon the river, they

left its preservation to God : so the river received the child, and carried him along. But Miriam, the child's sister, passed along upon the bank over against him, as her mother had bid her, to see whither the ark would be carried; where God demonstrated, that human wisdom was nothing, but that the Supreme Being is able to do whatsoever he pleases : that those who, in order to their own security, condemn others to destruction, and use great endeavours about it, fail of their purpose : but that others are, in a surprising manner, preserved, and obtain a prosperous condition, almost from the very midst of their calamities ; those, I mean, whose dangers arise by the appointment of God. And indeed such a providence was exercised in the case of this child, as showed the power of God.

5. Thermuthis was the king's daughter. She was now diverting herself by the banks of the river ; and seeing a cradle borne along by the current, she sent some that could swim, and bid them bring the cradle to her. When those that were sent on this errand came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child, she was greatly in love with it, on account of its largeness and beauty ; for God had taken such great care in the formation of Moses, that he caused him to be thought worthy of bringing up, and providing for, by all those that had taken the most fatal resolutions, on account of their dread of his nativity, for the destruction of the rest of the Hebrew nation. Thermuthis bid them bring her a woman that might afford her breast to the child; yet would not the child admit of her breast, but turned away from it, and did the like to many other women. Now Miriam was by when this happened, not to appear to be there on purpose, but only as staying to see the child ; and she said, "It is in vain that thou, O queen, callest for these women for the nourishing of the child, who are no way of kin to it ; but still, if thou wilt order one of the Hebrew women to be brought, perhaps it may admit the breast of one of its own nation." Now, since she seemed to speak well, Thermuthis desired her to procure such an one, and to bring one of those Hebrew women that gave suck. So when she had such authority given her, she came back, and brought the mother, who was known to nobody there. And now the child gladly admitted the breast, and seemed to stick close to it ; and so it was, that at the queen's desire, the nursing of the child was entirely intrusted to the mother.

6. Hereupon it was that Thermuthis imposed this name *Mouses* upon him, from what had happened when he was put into the river; for the Egyptians call *water* by the name of *Mo*, and such as are *saved* out of it, by the name of *Uses*; so by putting these two words together, they imposed this name upon him. And he was by the confession of all, according to God's prediction, as well for his greatness of mind, as for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews; for Abraham was his ancestor, of the seventh generation. For Moses was the son of Amram, who was the son of Caath, whose father Levi was the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, who was the son of Abraham. Now Moses's understanding became superior to his age, nay, far beyond that standard; and when he was taught, he discovered greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age, and his actions at that time promised greater, when he should come to the age of a man. God did also give him that tallness, when he was but three years old, as was wonderful. And as for his beauty, there was nobody so unpolite, as when they saw Moses, they were not greatly surprised at the beauty of his countenance: nay, it happened frequently, that those that met him, as he was carried along the road, were obliged to turn again upon seeing the child; that they left what they were about, and stood still a great while to look on him, for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him, on many accounts, that it detained the spectators, and made them stay longer to look upon him.

7. Thermuthis, therefore, perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no child of her own. And when one time she had carried Moses to her father, she showed him to him, and said, she thought to make him her father's successor, if it should please God she should have no legitimate child of her own; and said to him, "I have brought up a child who is of a * divine form, and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river, in a wonderful manner, I thought proper to adopt him for my son, and the heir of thy kingdom." And when she had said this, she put the infant into her father's hands: so he took him and hugged him close to his breast; and, on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way, put his

* What Josephus here says of the beauty of Moses, that he was of a divine form, is very like what St. Stephen says of the same beauty, that Moses was *beautiful in the sight of God*, Acts vii. 20.

diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and in a puerile mood, he wreathed it around, and tread upon it with his feet, which seemed to bring along with it an evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe saw this, (he was the same person who foretold that his nativity would bring the dominion of that kingdom low,) he made a violent attempt to kill him; and crying out in a frightful manner, he said, "This, O king! this child is he of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no danger: he himself affords an attestation to the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon thy government, and treading upon thy diadem. Take him, therefore, out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him." But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was not hasty to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was, therefore, educated with great care. So the Hebrews depended on him, and were of good hopes that great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow such his education. Yet because if Moses had been slain, there was no one, either a-kin or adopted, that had any oracle on his side, for pretending to the crown of Egypt, and likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.

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CHAP. X.

How Moses made war with the Ethiopians.

§ 1. MOSES, therefore, when he was born, and brought up in the foregoing manner, and came to the age of maturity, made his virtue manifest to the Egyptians; and showed that he was born for the bringing them down, and raising the Israelites. And the occasion he laid hold of was this: the Ethiopians, who are next neighbours to the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, which they seized upon, and carried off the effects of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, fought against them, and revenged the affronts they had received from them; but being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran away in a shameful manner, and by that means saved themselves, whereupon the Ethio-

pians followed after them in the pursuit, and thinking that it would be a mark of cowardice if they did not subdue all Egypt, they went on to subdue the rest with greater vehemence; and when they had tasted the sweets of the country, they never left off the prosecution of the war: and as the nearest parts had not courage enough at first to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis, and the sea itself, while not one of the cities were able to oppose them. The Egyptians, under this sad oppression, betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies; and when God had given them this counsel, to make use of Moses the Hebrew, and take his assistance, the king commanded his daughter to produce him, that he might be the * general of their army. Upon which, when she had made him swear he would do him no harm, she delivered him to the king, and supposed his assistance would be of great advantage to them. She withall reproached the priest, who, when they had before admonished the Egyptians to kill him, was not ashamed now to own their want of his help.

2. So Moses, at the persuasion both of Thermuthis, and the king himself, cheerfully undertook the business; and the sacred scribes of both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians, that they should at once overcome their enemies by his valour, and that by the same piece of management Moses would be slain; but those of the Hebrews, that they should escape from the Egyptians, because Moses was to be their general. But Moses prevented the enemies, and took and led his army before those enemies were apprised of his attacking them; for he did not march by the river, but by land, where he gave a wonderful demonstration of his sagacity: for when the ground was difficult to be passed over, because of the multitude of serpents, which it produces in vast num-

* This history of Moses, as general of the Egyptians against the Ethiopians, is wholly omitted in our Bibles, but is thus cited by Irenaeus, from Josephus, and that soon after his own age: "Josephus says, that when Moses was nourished in the king's palace he was appointed general of the army against the Ethiopians, and conquered them, when he married that king's daughter, because, out of her affection for him, she delivered the city up to him." See the fragments of Irenaeus, *ap. edit. Grab.* p. 472. Nor, perhaps, did St. Stephen refer to any thing else, when he said of Moses, before he was sent by God to the Israelites, that he was not only *learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*, but was also *mighty in words and in deeds*, Acts, vii. 22.

bers, and indeed is singular in some of those productions which other countries do not breed, and yet such as are worse than others in power and mischief, and an unusual fierceness of sight, some of which ascend out of the ground unseen, and also fly in the air, and so come upon men at unawares, and do them a mischief, Moses invented a wonderful stratagem to preserve the army safe, and without hurt; for he made baskets, like unto arks of sedge, and filled them with * ibes, and carried them along with them; which animal is the greatest enemy to serpents imaginable, for they fly from them when they come near them, and as they fly they are caught and devoured by them, as if it were done by the harts; but the ibes are tame creatures, and only enemies to the serpentine kind. But about these ibes I say no more at present, since the Greeks are not themselves unacquainted with this sort of bird. As soon, therefore, as Moses was come to the land which was the breeder of these serpents, he let loose the ibes, and by their means repelled the serpentine kind, and used them for his assistants before the army came upon that ground. When he had therefore proceeded thus on his journey, he came upon the Ethiopians before they expected him; and joining battle with them, he beat them, and deprived them of the hopes they had of success against the Egyptians, and went on in overturning their cities, and indeed made a great slaughter of these Ethiopians. Now when the Egyptian army had once tasted of this prosperous success, by the means of Moses, they did not slacken their diligence, insomuch, that the Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to slavery, and all sorts of destruction. And at length they retired to Saba, which was a royal city of Ethiopia, which Cambyzes afterwards named *Meroe*, after the name of his own sister. The place was to be besieged with very great difficulty, since it was both encompassed by the Nile quite round, and the other rivers *Astaphus* and *Astaborus* made it a very difficult thing for such as attempted to pass over them; for the city was situate in a retired place, and was inhabited after the manner of an island, being encompassed with a strong wall, and having the rivers to guard them from their enemies, and having great ramparts between

* Pliny speaks of these birds, called *Ibes*, and says, "The Egyptians invoked them against the serpents." Hist. Nat. B. x. c. 28. Strabo speaks of this island *Meroe*, and these rivers, *Astaphus* and *Astaborus*, Book xvi. p. 771. 786. and B. xvii. p. 821.

the wall and the rivers, insomuch, that when the waters came with the greatest violence, it can never be drowned; which ramparts make it next to impossible for even such as are gotten over the rivers to take the city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle, (for the enemies durst not come to a battle,) this accident happened: Tharbis was the daughter of the king of the Ethiopians; she happened to see Moses, as he led the army near the walls, and fought with great courage, and admiring the subtilty of his undertakings, and believing him to be the author of the Egyptian success, when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty, and to be the occasion of the great danger the Ethiopians were in, when they had before boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him; and upon the prevalency of that passion, sent to him the most faithful of all her servants to discourse with him upon their marriage. He thereupon accepted the offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city; and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to his wife, and that when he had once taken possession of the city, he would not break his oath to her. No sooner was the agreement made but it took effect immediately; and when Moses had cut off the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and consummated his marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

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CHAP. XI.

How Moses fled out of Egypt into Midian.

§ 1. Now the Egyptians, after they had been preserved by Moses, entertained an hatred to him, and was very eager in compassing their designs against him, as suspecting that he would take occasion, from his good success, to raise a sedition, and bring innovations into Egypt; and told the king he ought to be slain. The king had also some intentions of himself to the same purpose, and this as well out of envy at his glorious expedition at the head of his army, as out of fear of being brought low by him; and being instigated by the sacred scribes, he was ready to undertake to kill Moses. But when he had learned beforehand what plots there were against him, he went away privately; and because the public roads were watched, he took his flight through the de-

serts, and where his enemies could not suspect he would travel; and though he was destitute of food, he went on, and despised that difficulty courageously. And when he came to the city Midian, which lay upon the Red Sea, and was so denominated from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, he sat upon a certain well, and rested himself there after his laborious journey, and the affliction he had been in. It was not far from the city; and the time of the day was noon, where he had an occasion offered him, by the custom of the country, of doing what recommended his virtue, and afforded him an opportunity of bettering his circumstances.

2. For that country having but little water, the shepherds used to seize on the wells before others came, lest their flocks should want water; and lest it should be spent by others before they came. There were now come therefore to this well seven sisters, that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel, a priest, and one thought worthy by the people of the country of great honour: these virgins, who took care of their father's flocks, which sort of work it was customary and very familiar for women to do in the country of the Troglodytes, they came first of all, and drew water out of the well in a quantity sufficient for their flocks, into troughs, which were made for the reception of that water. But when the shepherds came upon the maidens, and drove them away, that they might have the command of the waters themselves, Moses, thinking it would be a terrible reproach upon him if he overlooked the young women under unjust oppression, and should suffer the violence of the men to prevail over the right of the maidens, he drove away the men who had a mind to more than their share, and afforded a proper assistance to the women; who, when they had received such a benefit from him, came to their father, and told him how they had been affronted by the shepherds, and assisted by a stranger, and entreated that he would not let this generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well from his daughters that they were so desirous to reward their benefactor, and bid them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved. And when Moses came, he told him what testimony his daughters bare to him, that he had assisted them; and that, as he admired him for his virtue, he said, that Moses had bestowed such his assistance on persons not insensible of benefits, but where they were both able and willing to return

the kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he made him his son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the guardian and superintendant over his cattle, for of old all the wealth of the barbarians was in those cattle.

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CHAP. XII.

Concerning the burning bush, and the rod of Moses.

§ 1. Now Moses, when he had obtained the favour of Jethro, for that was one of the names of Raguel, stayed there, and fed his flock; but some time afterward, taking his station at the mountain called *Sinai*, he drove his flocks thither to feed them. Now this is the highest of all the mountains thereabouts, and the best for pasturage, the herbage being there good; and it had not been before fed upon, because of the opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds not daring to ascend up to it. And here it was that a wonderful prodigy happened to Moses; for a fire fed upon a thorn-bush; yet did the green leaves and the flowers continue untouched, and the fire did not at all consume the fruit branches, although the flame was great and fierce. Moses was affrighted at this strange sight, as it was to him; but he was still more astonished when the fire uttered a voice, and called to him by name, and spake words to him, by which it signified to him how bold he had been in venturing to come into a place whither no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove a great way from the flame, and to be contented with what he had seen; and though he were himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, yet that he should not pry any farther: and he foretold to him, that he should have glory and honour among men, by the blessing of God upon him. He also commanded him to go away thence with confidence to Egypt, in order to his being the commander and conductor of the body of the Hebrews, and to his delivering his own people from the injuries they suffered there: "For," said God, "they shall inhabit this happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all sorts of good things; and thou, by thy prudence, shalt guide them to those good things." But still he enjoined him, when he had

brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there. Such were the divine oracles which were delivered out of the fire.

2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, "I think it would be an instance of too great madness, O Lord, for one of that regard I bear to thee, to distrust thy power, since I myself adore it, and know that it has been made manifest to my progenitors: but I am still in doubt how I, who am a private man, and one of no abilities, should either persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me to a land whither I lead them; or, if they should be persuaded, how can I force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since they augment their own wealth and prosperity by the labours and works they put upon them."

3. But God persuaded him to be courageous on all occasions, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his words when he was to persuade men, and in his deeds when he was to perform wonders. He bid him also to take a signal of the truth of what he said, by throwing his rod upon the ground; which, when he had done, it crept along, and was become a serpent, and rolled itself round in its folds, and erected its head, as ready to revenge itself on such as should assault it, after which it became a rod again as it was before. After this God bid Moses to put his right hand into his bosom; he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white, and in colour like to chalk, but afterward it returned to its wonted colour again. He also, upon God's command, took some of the water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the colour was that of blood. Upon the wonder that Moses showed at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured that he would be the greatest support to him; and bid him make use of those signs in order to obtain belief among all men, that thou art sent by me, and dost all things according to my commands. Accordingly I enjoin thee to make no more delays, but to make haste to Egypt, and to travel night and day, and not to draw out the time, and so make the slavery of the Hebrews and their sufferings to last the longer.

4. Moses having now seen and heard these wonders, that assured him of the truth of these promises of God, had no room left him to disbelieve them, he entreated him to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought

him to vouchsafe him the knowledge of his own name, and since he had heard and seen him, that he would also tell him his name, that when he offered sacrifice he might invoke him by such his name in his oblations. Whereupon God declared to him his holy name, which had never been discovered to men before ; concerning which it is * not lawful for me to say any more. Now these signs accompanied Moses, not then only, but always when he prayed for them: of all which signs he attributed the firmest assent to the fire in the bush; and believing that God would be a gracious supporter to him, he hoped he should be able to deliver his own nation, and bring calamities on the Egyptians.

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CHAP. XIII.

How Moses and Aaron returned into Egypt to Pharaoh.

§ 1. So Moses, when he understood that the Pharaoh, in whose reign he fled away, was dead, asked leave of Raguel to go to Egypt, for the benefit of his own people: and he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had married, and the children he had by her, Gersom and Eleazar, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of those names, Gersom, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies, that he was in a *strange land*; and Eleazar, that, by the *assistance of the God of his fathers*, he had escaped from the Egyptians. Now when they went near the borders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God, met him, to whom he declared what had befallen him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. But as they were going forward, the chief men among the Hebrews having learned

* This superstitious fear of discovering the name with four letters, which of late we have been used falsely to pronounce *Jehovah*, but seems to have been originally pronounced *Jahoh*, or *Jao*, is never, I think, heard of till this passage of Josephus; and this superstition, in not pronouncing that name, has continued among the Rabbinical Jews to this day, (though whether the Samaritans and Caraites observed it so early does not appear.) Josephus also durst not set down the very words of the ten commandments, as we shall see hereafter, Antiq. B. iii. ch. v. § 4. which superstitious silence has yet not been continued even by the Rabbins. It is however no doubt but both these cautious concealments were taught Josephus by the Pharisees, a body of men at once very wicked, and very superstitious.

that they were coming, met them : to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen ; and while they could not believe them, he made them see them. So they took courage at these surprising and unexpected sights, and hoped well of their entire deliverance, as believing now that God took care of their preservation.

2. Since then Moses found that the Hebrews would be obedient to whatsoever he should direct, as they promised to be, and were in love with liberty, he came to the king, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he had done for the good of the Egyptians when they were despised by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them ; and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had laboured for them, as if they had been his own people ; and he informed him in what danger he had been during that expedition, without having any proper returns made him, as he had deserved. He also informed him distinctly, what things happened to him at Mount Sinai, and what God said to him, and the signs that were done by God, in order to assure him of the authority of those commands which he had given him. He also exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

3. But when the king derided Moses, he made him in earnest see the signs that were done at Mount Sinai. Yet was the king very angry with him, and called him an ill man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and came now back with deceitful tricks, and wonders, and magical arts, to astonish him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights, as knowing that the Egyptians were skilful in this kind of learning, and that he was not the only person who knew them, and pretended them to be divine ; as also he told him, that when he brought such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned. Now when the priests threw down their rods, they became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at it ; and said, " O king, I do not myself despise the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I say, that what I do is so much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as divine power exceeds the power of man : but I will demonstrate, that what I do is not done by craft, or counterfeiting what is not really true, but that they appear by the providence and power of God."

And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all : it then returned to its own form, and Moses took it into his hand again.

4. However, the king was no more moved, when this was done, than before ; and being very angry, he said, " That he should gain nothing by this his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians." And he commanded him that was the chief task-master over the Hebrews, to give them no relaxation from their labours, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than before. And though he allowed them chaff before for the making their bricks, he would allow it them no longer ; but he made them to work hard at brick-making in the day-time, and to gather chaff in the night. Now when their labour was thus doubled upon them, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their labour and their misery were on his account become more severe to them. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the king's threatenings ; nor did he abate of his zeal on account of the Hebrews' complaints, but he supported himself, and set his soul resolutely against them both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to the king, and persuaded him to let the Hebrews go to Mount Sinai, and there to sacrifice to God, because God had enjoined them so to do. He persuaded him also, not to counter-work the designs of God, but to esteem his favour above all things, and to permit them to depart, lest, before he be aware, he lay an obstruction in the way of the divine commands, and so occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probably any one that counter-worked the divine commands should undergo, since the severest afflictions arise from every object to those that provoke the divine wrath against them : for such as these have neither the earth nor the air for their friends ; nor are the fruits of the womb according to nature, but every thing is unfriendly and adverse towards them. He said farther, that the Egyptians should know this by sad experience ; and that besides, the Hebrew people should go out of their country without their consent.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the ten plagues which came upon the Egyptians.

§ 1. But when the king despised the words of Moses, and had no regard at all to them, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians, every one of which I will describe, both because no such plagues did ever happen to any other nation as the Egyptians now felt; and because I would demonstrate that Moses did not fail in any one thing that he foretold them; and because it is for the good of mankind, that they may learn this caution, not to do any thing that may displease God, lest he be provoked to wrath, and avenge their iniquities upon men. The Egyptian river ran with bloody water, at the command of God, insomuch that it could not be drunk, and they had no other spring of water neither; for the water was not only of the colour of blood, but it brought upon those that ventured to drink of it great pains, and bitter torment. Such was the river to the Egyptians: but it was sweet and fit for drinking to the Hebrews, and no way different from what it naturally used to be. As the king, therefore, knew not what to do in these surprising circumstances, and was in fear for the Egyptians, he gave the Hebrews leave to go away; but when the plague ceased, he changed his mind again, and would not suffer them to go.

2. But when God saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of the calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians: an innumerable multitude of frogs consumed the fruits of the ground; the river also was full of them, insomuch that those who drew water had it spoiled by the blood of these animals, as they died in, and were destroyed by the water; and the country was full of filthy slime, as they were born, and as they died: they also spoiled their vessels in their houses which they used, and came in great numbers upon their beds. There was also an ungrateful smell and stink arose from them, as they were born, and as they died therein. Now, when the Egyptians were under the oppression of these miseries, the king ordered Moses to take the Hebrews with him, and be gone. Upon which the whole multitude of the frogs vanished away; and both the land and the river returned to their former natures. But as soon as Pharaoh saw the land freed from this plague, he forgot the cause of it, and retained the

Hebrews : and, * as though he had a mind to try the nature of more such judgments, he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having granted that liberty rather out of fear, than out of any good consideration.

3. Accordingly, God punished his falseness with another plague, added to the former, for there arose out of the bodies of the Egyptians an innumerable quantity of lice, by which, wicked as they were, they miserably perished, as not able to destroy this sort of vermin, either with washes or with ointments. At which terrible judgment the king of Egypt was in disorder, upon the fear into which he reasoned himself, lest his people should be destroyed, and that the manner of this death was also reproachful, so that he was forced in part to recover himself from his wicked temper to a sounder mind, for he gave leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereupon ceased, he thought it proper to require that they should leave their children and wives behind them, as pledges of their return; whereby he provoked God to be more vehemently angry at him, as if he thought to impose on his providence, and as if it were only Moses, and not God, who punished the Egyptians for the sake of the Hebrews: for he filled that country full of various sorts of pestilential creatures, with their various properties, such indeed as had never come into the sight of men before, by whose means the men perished themselves, and the land was destitute of husbandmen for its cultivation; but if any thing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper, which the men underwent also.

4. But when Pharaoh did not even then yield to the will of God; but while he gave leave to the husbands to take their wives with them, yet insisted that the children should be left behind, God presently resolved to punish his wickedness with several sorts of calamities, and those worse than the foregoing, which yet had so generally afflicted them: for their bodies had terrible boils, breaking forth with blains, while they were already inwardly consumed: and a great part of the Egyptians perished in this manner. But when the king was not brought to reason by this plague, hail was sent down from heaven; and such hail it was, as the climate

* Of this judicial hardening the hearts, and blinding the eyes of wicked men, or insatuating them, as a just punishment for their other wilful sin, to their own destruction, see the note on *Antiq. B. vii. ch. ix. § 6.*

of Egypt had never suffered before, nor was it like to that which falls in other climates in the * winter time, but larger than that which falls in the middle of spring to those that dwell in the northern and north-western regions. This hail broke down their boughs laden with fruit. After this a tribe of locusts consumed the seed which was not hurt by the hail, so that to the Egyptians all the hopes of future fruits of the ground were entirely lost.

5. One would think the forementioned calamities might have been sufficient for one that was only foolish without wickedness, to make him wise, and to make him sensible what was for his advantage. But Pharaoh, led not so much by his folly, as by his wickedness, even when he saw the cause of his miseries, he still contested with God, and wilfully deserted the cause of virtue; so he bid Moses take the Hebrews away, with their wives and children, but to leave their cattle behind, since their own cattle was destroyed. But when Moses said, that what he desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifice to God of those cattle: and the time being prolonged on this account, a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and under a terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. Besides this, when the darkness, after three days, and as many nights, was dissipated, and when Pharaoh did not still repent, and let the Hebrews go, Moses came to him, and said, "How long wilt thou be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins thee to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of being freed from the calamities you are under unless you do so." But the king was angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head if he came any more to trouble him about these matters. Hereupon Moses said, he would not speak to him any more about them, for that he himself, together with the principal men among the Egyptians, should desire the Hebrews to go away. So when Moses had said this, he went his way.

6. But when God had signified, that with one more plague he would compel the Egyptians to let the Hebrews go, he commanded Moses to tell the people, that they should have

* As to this winter or spring hail near Egypt and Judea, see the like on thunder and lightning there, in the note on Antiq. B. vi. ch. v. § 6.

a sacrifice ready, and that they should prepare themselves on the tenth day of the month Xanthicus, against the fourteenth, (which month is called by the Egyptians *Pharmuthi*, and *Nisan* by the Hebrews; but the Macedonians call it *Xanthicus*;) and that he should carry away the Hebrews with all they had. Accordingly, he having got the Hebrews ready for their departure, and having sorted the people into tribes, he kept them together in one place: but when the fourteenth day was come, and all were ready to depart, they offered the sacrifice, and purified their houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop for that purpose; and when they had supped, they burnt the remainder of the flesh, as just ready to depart. Whence it is, that we do still offer this sacrifice, in like manner, to this day, and call this festival *Pascha*, which signifies the feast of the passover, because on that day God *passed us over*, and sent the plague upon the Egyptians: for the destruction of the first-born came upon the Egyptians that night, so that many of the Egyptians, which lived near the king's palace, persuaded Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go. Accordingly, he called for Moses, and bid them begone, as supposing that if once the Hebrews were gone out of the country, Egypt should be freed from its miseries. They also honoured the Hebrews with * gifts; some in order to get them to depart quickly, and others on account of their neighbourhood, and the friendship they had with them.

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CHAP. XV.

How the Hebrews, under the conduct of Moses, left Egypt.

§ 1. So the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the

* These large presents made to the Israelites, of *vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment*, were, as Josephus truly calls them, *gifts really given them, not lent them*, as our English falsely renders them. They were *spoils required, not borrowed* of them, Gen. xv. 14. Exod. iii. 22. xi. 2. Psal. cv. 37, as the same version falsely renders the Hebrew word here used, Exod. xii. 35, 36. God had ordered the Jews to demand these as their pay and reward, during their long and bitter slavery in Egypt, as atonement for the lives of the Egyptians, and as the condition of the Jews' departure, and of the Egyptian deliverance from these terrible judgments, which, had they not now ceased, *they had soon been all dead men*, as they themselves confess, ch. xii. 33. Nor was there any sense in *borrowing or lending*, when the Israelites were finally departing out of the land forever.

Egyptians wept and repented that they had treated them so hardly. Now they took their journey by Letopolis, a place at that time deserted, but where Babylon was built afterwards, when Cambyses laid Egypt waste: but as they went away hastily, on the third day they came to a place called *Baalzephon*, on the Red Sea; and when they had no food out of the land, because it was a desert, they eat of loaves kneaded of flour, only warmed by a gentle heat; and this food they made use of for thirty days; for what they brought with them out of Egypt would not suffice them any longer time; and this only while they dispensed it to each person, to use so much only as would serve for necessity, but not for satiety. Whence it is, that, in memory of the want we were then in, we keep a feast for eight days, which is called the *feast of unleavened bread*. Now the entire multitude of those that went out, including the women and children, was not easy to be numbered; but those that were of an age fit for war were six hundred thousand.

2. They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the fifteenth day of the lunar month, four hundred and thirty years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but * two hundred and fifteen years only after Jacob removed into Egypt. It was the eightieth year of the age of Moses, and of that of Aaron three more. They also carried out the bones of Joseph with them, as he had charged his sons to do.

3. But the Egyptians soon repented that the Hebrews were gone; and the king also was mightily concerned that this had been procured by the magic arts of Moses; so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly, they took their weapons, and other warlike furniture, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if once they overtook them, because they would now have no pretence to pray to God against them, since they had already been permitted to go out; and they thought they should easily overcome them, as they had no armour, and would be

* Why our Masorete copy so groundlessly abridges this account in Exod. xii. 40. as to ascribe 430 years to the sole peregrination of the Israelites in Egypt, when it is clear, even by that Masorete chronology elsewhere, as well from the express text itself in the Samaritan, Septuagint, and Josephus, that they sojourned in Egypt but *half* that time; and that by consequence the other half of their peregrination was in the land of Canaan, before they came into Egypt, is hard to say. See Essay on the Old Testament, p. 62, 63.

weary with their journey ; so they made haste in their pursuit, and asked every one they met, which way they were gone ; and indeed that land was difficult to be travelled over, not only by armies, but by single persons. Now Moses led the Hebrews this way, that in case the Egyptians should repent, and be desirous to pursue after them, they might undergo the punishment of their wickedness and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. As also he led them this way on account of the Philistines, who had quarrelled with them, and hated them of old, that by all means they might not know of their departure, for their country is near to that of Egypt ; and thence it was that Moses led them not along the road that tended to the land of the Philistines, but he was desirous that they should go through the desert, that so, after a long journey, and after many afflictions, they might enter upon the land of Canaan. Another reason of this was, that God had commanded him to bring the people to mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. Now when the Egyptians had overtaken the Hebrews, they prepared to fight them, and by their multitude they drove them into a narrow place ; for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand footmen, all armed. They also seized on the passages by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly, shutting them up * between inaccessible precipices, and the sea ; for there

* Take the main part of Reland's excellent note here, which greatly illustrates Josephus, and the scripture, in this history, as follows : [“ A traveller, says Reland, whose name was] Eneman, when he returned out of Egypt, told me, that he went the same way from Egypt to mount Sinai, which he supposed the Israelites of old travelled ; and that he found several mountainous tracts that ran down towards the Red Sea. He thought the Israelites had proceeded as far as the desert of Etham. (Exod. xiii. 20.) when they were commanded by God to *return back*, (Exod. xiv. 2.) and to pitch their camp *between Migdol and the sea* ; and that when they were not able to fly, unless by sea, they were shut in on each side by mountains. He also thought we might evidently learn hence, how it might be said, that the Israelites were in Etham before they went over the sea, and yet might be said to have *come into* Etham after they had passed over the sea also. Besides, he gave an account how he passed over a river in a boat, near the city Sues, which he says must needs be the Heropolis of the ancients, since that city could not be situate any where else in that neighbourhood.”

As to the famous passage produced here by Dr. Bernard out of

was [on each side] a [ridge of] mountains, that terminated at the sea, were impassable, by reason of their roughness, and obstructed their flight; wherefore they were pressed upon the Hebrews with the army, where the [ridges of] the mountains were closed with the sea, which army they placed at the chops of the mountains, that so they might deprive them of any passage into the plain.

4. When the Hebrews, therefore, were neither able to bear up, being thus, as it were, besieged, because they wanted provisions, nor saw any possible way of escaping; and if they should have thought of fighting, they had no weapons, they expected an universal destruction unless they delivered themselves up voluntarily to the Egyptians. So they laid the blame on Moses, and forgot all the signs that had been wrought by God for the recovery of their freedom; and this so far, that their incredulity promoted them to throw stones at the prophet, while he encouraged them, and promised them deliverance; and they resolved that they would deliver themselves up to the Egyptians. So there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who had nothing but destruction before their eyes, while they were encompassed with mountains, the sea, and their enemies, and discerned no way of flying from them.

5. But Moses, though the multitude looked fiercely at him, did not, however, give over the care of them, but despised all dangers, out of his trust in God, who as he had afforded them the several steps already taken for their recovery of their liberty, which he had foretold them, he would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, to be either made slaves, or be slain by them. And, standing in the midst of them, he said, "It is not just for us to distrust even men when they have hitherto well managed our affairs, as if they would not be the same men hereafter; but it is no better than madness, at this time, to despair of the providence of God, by whose power all those things have been performed which he promised, when you expected no such things: I

Herodotus, as the most ancient heathen testimony of the Israelites coming from the Red Sea into Palestine, Bishop Cumberlând has showed, that it belongs to the old Canaanite or Phœnician shepherds, and their retiring out of Egypt into Canaan or Phœnicia, long before the days of Moses. Sanchoniatho, p. 374, &c.

mean all that I have been concerned in for your deliverance, and escape from slavery. Nay, when we are in the utmost distress, as you see we now are, we ought rather to hope that God will succour us, by whose operation it is that we are now encompassed within this narrow place, that he may deliver us out of such difficulties as are otherwise unsurmountable, and out of which neither you nor your enemies expect you can be delivered, and may at once demonstrate his own power, and his providence over us. Nor does God use to give his help in small difficulties to those whom he favours, but in such cases where no one can see how any hope in man can better their condition. Depend, therefore, upon such a protector as is able to make small things great, and to show that this mighty force against you is nothing but weakness, and be not affrighted at the Egyptian army; nor do you despair of being preserved because the sea before, and the mountains behind, afford you no opportunity for flying; for even these mountains, if God so please, may be made plain ground for you, and the sea become dry land."

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CHAP. XVI.

How the sea was divided asunder for the Hebrews when they were pursued by the Egyptians, and so gave them an opportunity of escaping from them.

§ 1. When Moses had said this, he led them to the sea, while the Egyptians looked on, for they were within sight. Now these were so distressed by the toil of their pursuit that they thought proper to put off fighting till the next day. But when Moses was come to the sea shore, he took his rod; and made supplication to God, and called upon him to be their helper and assistant; and said, "Thou art not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength and contrivance to avoid the difficulties we are now under, but it must be thy work altogether to procure deliverance to this army, which has left Egypt at thy appointment. We despair of any other assistance or contrivance, and have recourse only to that hope we have in thee; and if there be any method that can promise us an escape, by thy providence, we look up to thee for it. And let it come quickly and manifest thy power to us: and do thou raise up this people unto good courage and hope of deliverance, who are deeply sunk into

a disconsolate state of mind. We are in a helpless place, but still it is a place that thou possessest; but still the sea is thine, the mountains that enclose us are thine; so that these mountains will open themselves if thou commandest them, and the sea also, if thou commandest it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight through the air if thou shouldest determine we should have that way of salvation."

2. When Moses had thus addressed himself to God, he smote the sea with his rod, which parted asunder at the stroke, and receiving those waters into itself, left the ground dry, as a road and a place of flight for the Hebrews. Now when Moses saw this appearance of God, and that the sea went out of its own place, and left dry land, he went first of all into it, and bid the Hebrews to follow him along that divine road, and to rejoice at the danger their enemies that follow them were in; and gave thanks to God for this so surprising a deliverance which appeared from him.

3. Now while these Hebrews made no stay, but went on earnestly, as led by God's presence with them, the Egyptians supposed at first that they were distracted, and were going rashly upon manifest destruction. But when they saw that they were gone a great way without any harm, and that no obstacle or difficulty fell in their journey, they made haste to pursue them, hoping that the sea would be calm for them also. They put their horse foremost, and went down themselves into the sea. Now the Hebrews, while these were putting on their armour, and therein spending their time, were beforehand with them, and escaped them, and got first over to the land on the other side without any hurt. Whence the others were encouraged, and more courageously pursued them, as hoping no harm would come to them neither; but the Egyptians were not aware that they went into a road made for the Hebrews, and not for others; that this road was made for the deliverance of those in danger, but not for those that were earnest to make use of it for the others destruction. As soon, therefore, as ever the whole Egyptian army was within it, the sea flowed to its own place, and came down with a torrent raised by * storms of wind, and

* Of these storms of wind, thunder and lightning, at this drowning of Pharaoh's army, almost wanting in our copies of Exodus, but fully extant in that of David, Psalm lxxvii. 16, 17, 18, and in that of Josephus here, see Essay on the Old Test. append. p. 154, 155.

encompassed the Egyptians. Showers of rain also came down from the sky, and dreadful thunders and lightning, with flashes of fire. Thunder-bolts also were darted upon them. Nor was there any thing which uses to be sent by God upon men, as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time, for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

4. But the Hebrews were not able to contain themselves for joy at their wonderful deliverance, and destruction of their enemies; now indeed supposing themselves firmly delivered, when those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed, and when they found they had God so evidently for their protector. And now these Hebrews having escaped the danger they were in, after this manner; and besides that, seeing their enemies punished in such a way as is never recorded of any other men whomsoever, were all the night employed in singing of hymns, and in mirth. * Moses

* What some have here objected against this passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, *in this one night*, from the common maps, viz. that this sea being here about thirty miles broad, so great an army could not pass over it in so short a time, is a great mistake. Mons. Thevenot, an authentic eye witness, informs us, that this sea, for about five day's journey, is no where more than about 8 or 9 miles over cross, and in one place but 4 or 5 miles, according to Dr. Lisle's map, which is made from the best travellers themselves, and not copied from others. What has been farther objected against this passage of the Israelites, and drowning of the Egyptians, being miraculous also, viz. that Moses might carry the Israelites over at a *low tide*, without any miracle, while yet the Egyptians, not knowing the tide so well as he, might be drowned upon the *return* of the tide, is a strange story indeed! That Moses, who never had lived here, should know the quantity and time of the flux and reflux of the Red Sea better than the Egyptians themselves in its neighbourhood! yet does Artabanus, an ancient heathen historian, inform us, that this was what the more ignorant Menophites, who lived at a great distance, pretended; though he confesses that the more learned Heliopolitans, who lived much nearer, owned the destruction of the Egyptians, and the deliverance of the Israelites, to have been miraculous. And De Castro, a mathematician, who surveyed this sea with great exactness, informs us, that there is no great flux or reflux in this part of the Red Sea to give a colour to this hypothesis: nay, that the elevation of the tide there is little above half the height of a man. See Essay on the Old Test. appendix. p. 239, 240. So vain and groundless are these and the like evasions and subterfuges of our modern sceptics and believers! and so cer-

also composed a song unto God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his kindness, in * hexameter verse.

5. As for myself, I have delivered every part of this history as I found it in the sacred books: nor let any one † wonder at the strangeness of the narration, if a way were

tainly do thorough inquiries and authentic evidence disprove and confute such evasions and subterfuges upon all occasions.

* What that hexameter verse, in which Moses's triumphant song is here said to be written, distinctly means, our present ignorance of the old Hebrew metre or measure will not let us determine. Nor does it appear to me certain, that even Josephus himself had a distinct notion of it, though he speaks of several sorts of that metre or measure both here and elsewhere, *Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. § 44.* and *B. vii. ch. xii. § 3.*

† Take here the original passages of the four old authors that still remains, as to this transit of Alexander the Great over the Pamphylian sea; I mean of Callisthenes, Strabo, Arian, and Appian. As to Callisthenes, who himself accompanied Alexander in this expedition, Eustathius, in his notes upon the third Iliad of Homer, as Dr. Bernard here informs us, says, "That this Callisthenes wrote, how the Pamphylian sea did not only open a passage for Alexander, but by rising and elevating its waters did pay him homage as its king." Strabo's account is this, *Georg. B. xiv. p. 666.* "Now about Phaselis is that narrow passage, by the sea-side, through which Alexander led his army. There is a mountain called Climax, which adjoins to the sea of Pamphylia, leaving a narrow passage on the shore, which in calm weather is bare, so as to be passable by travellers; but when the sea overflows, it is covered to a great degree by the waves. Now then the ascent by the mountains being round about and steep, in still weather they make use of the road along the coast: but Alexander fell into the winter season, and permitting himself chiefly to fortune, he marched on before the waves retired, and so it happened that they were a whole day in journeying over it, and were under water up to the navel." Arian's account is this, *B. i. p. 72, 73.* "When Alexander removed from Phaselis, he sent some part of his army over the mountains to Perga; which road the Thracians showed him. A difficult way it was, but short. However, he himself conducted those that were with him by the sea-shore. This road is impassable at any other time than when the north-wind blows; but if the south wind prevail, there is no passing by the shore. Now, at this time, after strong south winds, a north wind blew; and that not without the divine providence, (as both he and they that were with him supposed,) and afforded him an easy and a quick passage." Appian, when he compares Cesar and Alexander together, (*De Bel. Civil. B. ii. p. 522.*) says, "That they both depended on their boldness and fortune, as much as on their skill in war. As an instance of which, Alexander journeyed over a country without water in the heat of summer, to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon, and quickly passed over the bay of

discovered to those men of old time, who were free from the wickedness of the modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God, or whether it happened of its own accord; while, for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedonia, who yet lived comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylian sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had no other way to go; I mean when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians: and this is confessed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander. But as to these events, let every one determine as he pleases.

6. On the next day Moses gathered together the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of the Hebrews by the current of the sea, and the force of the winds assisting it; and he conjectured that this also happened by divine providence, that so they might not be destitute of weapons. So when he had ordered the Hebrews to arm themselves with them, he led them to mount Sinai, in order to offer sacrifice to God, and to render oblations for the salvation of the multitude, as he was charged to do beforehand.

Pamphylia, when, by *divine providence*, the sea was cut off: thus *providence* restraining the sea on his account, as it had sent him rain when he travelled [over the desert.]”

N. B. Since in the days of Josephus, as he assures us, *all* the more numerous original historians of Alexander gave the account he has here set down, as to the providential going back of the waters of the Pamphylian sea, when he was going with his army to destroy the Persian monarchy, which the forenamed authors now remaining fully confirm, it is without all just foundation that Josephus is here blamed by some late writers for quoting those ancient authors upon the present occasion: nor can the reflections of Plutarch, or any other author later than Josephus, be in the least here alleged to contradict him. Josephus went by all the evidence he then had, and that evidence of the most authentic sort also; so that whatever the moderns may think of the thing itself, there is hence not the least colour for finding fault with Josephus: he would rather have been much to blame had he omitted these quotations.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF 2 YEARS.

[From the exodus out of Egypt to the rejection of that generation.]

CHAP. I.

How Moses, when he had brought the people out of Egypt, led them to Mount Sinai, but not till they had suffered much in their journey.

§ 1. WHEN the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them, for it was entirely a desert; and without all sustenance for them; and also had exceeding little water, so that it not only was not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed any of the cattle, for it was parched up, and had no moisture that might afford nutriment to the vegetables; so they were forced to travel over this country, as having no other country but this to travel in. They had indeed carried water along with them from the land over which they had travelled before, as their conductor had bidden them; but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells with pain, by reason of the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and this in small quantities also. And as they thus travelled, they came late in the evening to a place called **Marah*, which had this name from the badness of its water, for *Mar* denotes *bitterness*. Thither they came, afflicted both by the tediousness of their journey, and by their want of food, for it entirely failed them at that time. Now here was a well, which made them choose to stay in the place, which, although it were not sufficient to satisfy so great an army,

* Dr. Bernard takes notice here, that this place *Mar*, where the waters were bitter, is called by the Syrians and Arabians, *Marari*, and by the Syrians, sometimes, *Morath*, all derived from the Hebrew *Mar*; he also takes notice, that it is called the *bitter fountain* by Pliny himself. Which waters remain there to this day, and are still bitter, as Thevenot assures us; and that there are also abundance of palm-trees. See his Travels, part i. chap. xxvi. p. 166.

did yet afford them some comfort, as found in such desert places; for they heard from those who had been to search, that there was nothing to be found, if they travelled farther. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for men to drink; and not only so, but it was intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

2. When Moses saw how much the people were cast down, and that the occasion of it could not be contradicted, for the people were not in the nature of a complete army of men, who might oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them. The multitude of the children and of the women also, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men themselves. Moses, therefore, was in great difficulties, and made every body's calamity to be his own; for they ran all of them to him, and begged of him; the women begged for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would overlook them, but procure some way or other for their deliverance. He, therefore, betook himself to prayer to God, that he would change the water from its present badness, and make it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him that favour, he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle, and made the section length-ways. He then let it down into the well, and persuaded the Hebrews that God had hearkened to his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would be subservient to him in what he should enjoin them to do, and this not after a remiss or negligent manner. And when they asked what they were to do in order to have the water changed for the better, he bid the * strongest men among

* The additions here to Moses's account of the sweetening the water at Marah, seem derived from some ancient profane author, and he such an author as also looks less authentic than are usually followed by Josephus. Philo has not a syllable of these additions, nor any other ancient writer that we know of. Had Josephus written these his Antiquities for the use of Jews, he would hardly have given them these very improbable circumstances; but writing to Gentiles, that they might not complain of his omission of any accounts of such miracles derived from Gentiles, he did not think proper to conceal what he had met with there about this matter: which procedure is perfectly agreeable to the character and usage of Josephus upon many occasions. This note is, I confess, barely conjectural; and since Josephus never tells us when his own copy, taken out of the temple, had such additions, or when any ancient notes supplied them; or, indeed,

them that stood there to draw up water; and told them, that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink; so they laboured at it till the water was so agitated and purged as to be fit to drink.

5. And now, removing from thence, they came to Elim; which place looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm-trees: but when they came near it, it appeared to be a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill grown, and creeping trees, by the want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them, and make them hopeful and useful, was derived to them from the fountains, which were in number twelve: they were rather a few moist places than springs, which not breaking out of the ground, nor running over, could not sufficiently water the trees. And when they dug into the sand, they met with no water; and if they took a few drops of it into their hands, they found it to be useless, on account of its mud. The trees also were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and enlivened by the water. So they laid the blame on their conductor, and made heavy complaints against him; and said, that this their miserable state, and the experience they had of adversity, were owing to him; for that they had then journeyed an entire thirty days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with them, and meeting with no relief, they were in a desponding condition. And by fixing their attention upon nothing but their present misfortunes, they were hindered from remembering what deliverances they had received from God, and those by the virtue and wisdom of Moses also; so they were very angry at their conductor, and were zealous in their attempt to stone him, as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

4. But as for Moses himself, while the multitude were irritated and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied on God, and on his consciousness of the care he had taken of these his own people: and he came into the midst of them even while

when they were derived from Jewish, and when from Gentile antiquity, we can go no further than bare conjectures in such cases; only the notion of Jews were generally so different from those of Gentiles, that we may sometimes make no improbable conjectures to which sort such additions belong. See also somewhat like these additions in Josephus's account of Elisha's making sweet the bitter and barren spring near Jericho; of the war, B. iv. ch. viii. § 3.

they clameoured against him, and had stones in their hands in order to despatch him. Now he was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches; accordingly, he began to mitigate their anger, and exhorted them not to be over-mindful of their present adversities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed on them to slip out of their memories; and he desired them by no means, on account of their present uneasiness, to cast those great and wonderful favours and gifts, which they had obtained of God, out of their minds, but to expect deliverance out of those their present troubles, which they could not free themselves from, and this by the means of that divine providence which presided over them. Seeing it is probable that God tries their virtue, and exercises their patience by these adversities, that it may appear what fortitude they have, and what memory they retain of his former wonderful works in their favour, and whether they will not think of them upon occasion of the miseries they now feel. He told them, it appeared they were not really good men, either in patience, or remembering what had been successfully done for them, sometimes by contemning God and his commands, when by those commands they left the land of Egypt; and sometimes by behaving themselves ill towards him who was the servant of God, and this when he had never deceived them, either in what he said, or had ordered them to do by God's command. He also put them in mind of all that had passed; how the Egyptians were destroyed when they attempted to detain them, contrary to the command of God; and after what manner the very same river was to the other bloody, and not fit for drinking, but was to them sweet, and fit for drinking; and how they went a new road through the sea, which fled a long way from them, by which very means they were themselves preserved; but saw their enemies destroyed; and that when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them: and so he recounted all the particular instances, how when they were, in appearance, just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner; that he had still the same power; and that they ought not even now to despair of his providence over them; and accordingly he exhorted them to continue quiet, and to consider that help will not come too late, though it come not immediately, if it be present with them before they suffer any great misfortune: that they ought to reason thus, that God

delays to assist them, not because he has no regard to them, but because he will first try their fortitude, and the pleasure they take in their freedom, that he may learn whether you have souls great enough to bear want of food, and scarcity of waters on its account; or whether you rather love to be slaves, as cattle are slaves to such as own them, and feed them liberally, but only in order to make them more useful in their service. That as for himself, he shall not be so much concerned for his own preservation; for if he die unjustly, he shall not reckon it any affliction, but that he is concerned for them, lest, by casting stones at him, they should be thought to condemn God himself.

5. By this means Moses pacified the people, and restrained them: from stoning him, and brought them to repent of what they were going to do. And because he thought the necessity they were under made their passion less unjustifiable, he thought he ought to apply himself to God by prayer and supplication; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God for some succour for the people, and some way of deliverance from the want they were in, because in him, and in him alone, was their hope of salvation: and he desired that he would forgive what necessity forced the people to do, since such was the nature of mankind, hard to please, and very complaining under adversities. Accordingly, God promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succour they were desirous of. Now when Moses had heard this from God, he came down to the multitude: but as soon as they saw him joyful at the promises he had received from God, they changed their sad countenances into gladness. So he placed himself in the midst of them, and told them, he came to bring them from God a deliverance out of their present distresses. Accordingly, a little after, came a vast number of quails, which is a bird more plentiful in this Arabian gulf than any where else, flying over the sea, and hovered over them, till wearied with their laborious flight, and indeed, as usual, flying very near to the earth, they fell down upon the Hebrews, who caught them, and satisfied their hunger with them, and supposed that this was the method whereby God meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording them his assistance so suddenly, and sooner than he had promised them.

6. But presently after this first supply of food, he sent them a second: for as Moses was lifting up his hands in

prayer, a dew fell down; and Moses, when he found it stick to his hands, supposed this was also come for food from God to them, he tasted it; and perceiving that the people knew not what it was, and thought it snowed, and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them that this dew did not fall from heaven after the manner they imagined, but came for their preservation and sustenance. So he tasted it, and gave them some of it, that they might be satisfied about what he had told them. They also imitated their conductor, and were pleased with their food, for it was like honey in sweetness and pleasant taste, but in its body to bdellium, one of sweet spices, but in bigness equal to coriander seed. And very earnest they were in gathering it: but they were enjoined to gather * it equally, the measure of an homer for each man every day, because this food should not come in too small a quantity, lest the weaker might not be able to get their share, by reason of the over-bearing of the strong in collecting it. However, these strong men, when they had gathered more than the measure appointed for them, they had no more than others, but only tired themselves more in gathering it, for they found no more than an homer a piece; and the advantage they got by what was superfluous was none at all, it corrupting both by the worms breeding in it, and by its bitterness. So divine and wonderful a food this was! It also supplied the want of other sorts of food to those that fed on it. And even † now in all that place this manna

* It seems to me from what Moses, Exod. xvi. 18. St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 15. and Josephus here says, compared together, that the quantity of manna that fell daily, and did not putrify, was just so much as came to an homer a-piece through the whole host of Israel, and no more.

† This supposal, that the sweet honey dew, or manna, so celebrated in ancient and modern authors, as falling usually in Arabia, was of the very same sort with this manna sent to the Israelites, favours more of Gentilism, than of Judaism or Christianity. 'Tis not improbable that some ancient Gentile author, read by Josephus, so thought; nor would he here contradict him, though just before, and Antiq. B. iv. ch. iii. § 2. he seems directly to allow that it had not been seen before. However, this food from heaven is here described to be like snow; and in Artabanus, an heathen writer, it is compared to meal like to oat meal, in colour like to snow, rained down by God. Essay on the Old Test. append. p. 239. But as to the derivation of the word *manna*, whether from *man*, which Josephus says then signified, *what is it?* or from *manak*, to divide, i. e. a *dividend* or *portion* allotted to every one, it is uncertain. I incline to the latter derivation. This manna is called *angel's food*, Psalm lxxvii. 26. and

comes down in rain, according to what Moses then obtained of God, to send it the people for their sustenance. Now the Hebrew *manna*; for the particle *man*, in our language, is the asking of a question, *What is this?* So the Hebrews were very joyful at what was sent them from heaven. Now they made use of this food for forty years, or as long as they were in the wilderness.

7. As soon as they were removed thence, they came to Rephidim, being distressed to the last degree by thirst; and while in the foregoing days they had light on a few small fountains, but now found the earth entirely destitute of water, they were in an evil case. They again turned their anger against Moses; but he at first avoided the fury of the multitude, and then betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him, that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favour of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink. And God did not long delay to give it them, but promised Moses that he would procure them a fountain, and plenty of water, from a place they did not expect any: so he commanded him to smite the rock which * they saw lying there, with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of what they wanted; for he had taken care that drink should come to them without any labour or pains-taking. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people, who waited for him, and looked upon him, for they saw already that he was coming apace from his eminence. As soon as he was come, he told them, that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had granted them an unexpected favour; and informed them, that a river should run for their sakes out of the rock. But they were amazed at that hearing, supposing they were of necessity to cut the rock in pieces, now they were distressed by their thirst and by their journey: while Moses only smiting the rock with his rod, opened a passage, and out of it burst out water, and that in great abundance, and very clear. But they were astonished at this wonderful effect:

by our Saviour, John vi. 31, &c. as well as by Josephus here and elsewhere, Antiq. B. iii. ch. v. § 3. said to be *sent the Jews from heaven*.

* This rock is there at this day, as the travellers agree; and must be the same as was there in the days of Moses, as being too large to be brought thither by our modern carriages.

and, as it were, quenched their thirst by the very sight of it. So they drank this pleasant, this sweet water; and such it seemed to be, as might well be expected where God was the donor. They were also in admiration how Moses was honoured by God; and they made grateful returns of sacrifices to God for his providence towards them. Now that scripture, which is * laid up in the temple, informs us, how God foretold to Moses, that water should in this manner be derived out of the rock.

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CHAP. II.

How the Amalekites, and the neighbouring nations, made war with the Hebrews, and were beaten, and lost a great part of their army.

§ 1. THE name of the Hebrews began already to be every where renowned, and rumours about them ran abroad. This made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to one another, and exhorted one another to defend themselves, and to endeavour to destroy these men. Those that induced the rest to do so, were such as inhabited Gobolitis and Petra. They were called Amalekites, and were the most warlike of the nations that lived thereabouts; and whose kings exhorted one another, and their neighbours, to go to this war against the Hebrews; telling them, that an army of strangers, and such an one had run away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in wait to ruin them; which army they were not, in common prudence, and regard to their own safety, to overlook, but to crush them before they gather strength, and come to be in prosperity; and perhaps attack them first in an hostile manner, as presuming upon our indolence in not attacking them before; and that we ought to avenge ourselves of them for what they had done in the wilderness; but that this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities and our goods: that those who endeavour to crush a power in its first rise, are wiser than those that endeavour to put a stop to its progress when it is

* Note here, that the small book of the principal laws of Moses is ever said to be laid up in the *holy house* itself; but the larger Pentateuch, as here, somewhere within the limits of the *temple* and its courts only. See Antiq. B. v. ch. i. § 17.

become formidable ; for these last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of others, but the former do not leave any room for their enemies to become troublesome to them. After they had sent such embassages to the neighbouring nations, and among one another, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

2. These proceedings of the people of these countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such warlike preparations. And when these nations were ready to fight, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try the fortune of war, they were in a mighty disorder, and in want of all necessaries, and yet were to make war with men who were thoroughly well prepared for it. Then, therefore, it was that Moses began to encourage them, and to exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on God's assistance, by which they had been advanced into a state of freedom, and to hope for victory over those who were ready to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing. That they were to suppose their own army to be numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons, nor money, nor provisions, nor such other conveniencies as when men are in possession of, they fight undauntedly ; and that they are to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the divine assistance. They are also to suppose the enemies' army to be small, unarmed, weak, and such as want those conveniencies which they know must be wanted, when it is God's will that they shall be beaten. And how valuable God's assistance is, they had experienced in abundance of trials ; and those such as were more terrible in war, for that is only against men, but these were against famine and thirst, things indeed that were in their own nature insuperable ; as also against mountains, and that sea which afforded them no way for escaping : yet had all these difficulties been conquered by God's gracious kindness to them. So he exhorted them to be courageous at this time, and to look upon their entire prosperity to depend on the present contest of their enemies.

3. And with these words did Moses encourage the multitude, who then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and jointly. The young men he charged to obey their elders, and the elders to hearken to their leader. So the people were elevated in their minds, and ready to try their fortune in battle, and hoped to

be thereby at length delivered from all their miseries : nay, they desired that Moses would immediately lead them against their enemies, without the least delay, that no backwardness might be an hindrance to their present resolution. So Moses sorted all that were fit for war into different troops; and set Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, over them; one that was of great courage, and patient to undergo labours; of great abilities to understand, and to speak what was proper; and very serious in the worship of God: and indeed made like another Moses, a teacher of piety towards God. He also appointed a small party of the armed men to be near the water; and to take care of the children and the women, and of the entire camp. So that whole night they prepared themselves for the battle; they took their weapons, if any of them had such as were well made, and attended to their commanders, as ready to rush forth to the battle, as soon as Moses should give the word of command. Moses also kept awake, teaching Joshua after what manner he should order his camp. But when the day began, Moses called for Joshua again, and exhorted him to approve himself in deeds such an one as his reputation made men expect from him; and to gain glory by the present expedition, in the opinion of those under him, for his exploits in this battle. He also gave a particular exhortation to the principal men of the Hebrews, and encouraged the whole army as it stood armed before him. And when he had thus animated the army, both by his words and works, and prepared every thing, he retired to a mountain, and committed the army to God and Joshua.

4. So the armies joined battle; and it came to a close fight hand to hand, both sides showing great alacrity, and encouraging one another. And indeed while Moses *stretch-

* This eminent circumstance, that while Moses's hands were *lift up* towards heaven, the Israelites prevailed, and while they were *let down* towards the earth, the Amalekites prevailed, seems to me the earliest intimation we have of the proper posture, used of old, in solemn prayer, which was the stretching out the hand [and eyes] towards heaven, as other passages of the old and new Testament inform us. Nay, by the way, this posture seems to have continued in the Christian church, till the clergy, instead of learning their prayers by heart, read them out of a book, which is in a great measure inconsistent with such an elevated posture, and which seems to me to have been only a latter practice introduced under the corrupt state of the church, though the constant use of *divine* forms of

ed out his hands towards heaven, the Hebrews were too hard for the Amalekites: but Moses not being able to sustain his hands thus stretched out, (for as often as he let down his hands, so often were his own people worsted,) he bade his brother Aaron, and Hur, their sister Miraim's husband, to stand on each side of him, and take hold of his hands, and not permit his weariness to prevent it, but to assist him in the extension of his hands. When this was done, the Hebrews conquered the Amalekites by main force; and indeed they had all perished, unless the approach of the night had obliged the Hebrews to desist from killing any more. So our forefathers obtained a most signal and a most seasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but terrified also the neighbouring nations, and got great and splendid advantages, which they obtained of their enemies by their hard pains in this battle; for when they had taken the enemies camp, they got ready booty for the public, and for their own private families, whereas till then they had not any sort of plenty, of even necessary food. The forementioned battle, when they had once got it, was also the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present, but for the future ages also, for they not only made slaves of the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their minds also, and after this battle, became terrible to all that dwelt round about them. Moreover, they acquired a vast quantity of riches; for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemies camp; as also brazen vessels, which they made common use of in their families; many utensils also that were embroidered, there were of both sorts, that is, of what were weaved, and what were the ornaments of their armour, and other things that served for use in the family, and for the furniture of their rooms: they got also the prey of their cattle, and of whatsoever uses to follow camps, when they remove from one place to another. So the Hebrews now valued themselves upon their courage, and claimed great merit for their valour; and they perpetually inured themselves to take pains, by which they deemed every difficulty might be surmounted. Such were the consequences of this battle.

5. On the next day, Moses stripped the dead bodies of prayer, praise and thanksgiving, appears to me to have been the practice of God's people, Patriarchs, Jews, and Christians, in all the past ages.

their enemies, and gathered together the armour of those that were fled, and gave rewards to such as had signalized themselves in the action ; and highly commended Joshua, their general, who was attested to by all the army, on account of the great actions he had done. Nor was any one of the Hebrews slain ; but the slain of the enemies army were too many to be enumerated. So Moses offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and built an altar, which he named, *the Lord the conqueror*. He also foretold, that the Amalekites should utterly be destroyed ; and that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and this when they were in the wilderness, and in their distress also. Moreover, he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with those that ventured to oppose them, after they were gone out of Egypt. But, when Moses had celebrated this festival for the victory, he permitted the Hebrews to rest for a few days, and then he brought them out after the fight in order of battle : for they had now many soldiers in light armour. And going gradually on, he came to Mount Sinai in three months time after they were removed out of Egypt ; at which mountain, as we have before related, the vision of the bush, and the other wonderful appearances had happened.

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CHAP. III.

That Moses kindly received his father-in-law Jethro, when he came to him to Mount Sinai.

Now when Raguel, Moses's father-in-law, understood in what a prosperous condition his affairs were, he willingly came to meet him : and Moses took Zipporah his wife, and his children, and pleased himself with his coming. And when he had offered sacrifice, he made a feast for the multitude, near the bush he had formerly seen ; which multitude, every one, according to their families, partook of the feast. But Aaron and himself took Raguel, and sung hymns to God, as to him who had been the author and procurer of their deliverance and their freedom. They also praised their conductor, as him by whose virtue it was that all things had succeeded so well with them. Raguel also, in his eucharistical oration to Moses, made great encomiums upon the whole multitude : and he could not but admire Moses

for his fortitude, and that humanity he had showed in the delivery of his friends.

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CHAP. IV.

How Raguel suggested to Moses to set his people in order, under their rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, who lived without order before : and how Moses complied in all things with his father-in-law's admonition.

§ 1. THE next day, as Raguel saw Moses in the midst of a crowd of business, (for he determined the differences of those that referred them to him, every one still going to him, and supposing that they should then only obtain justice, if he were the arbitrator; and those that lost their causes thought it no great harm, while they thought they lost them justly, and not by partiality.) Raguel, however, said nothing to him at that time, as not desirous to be any hindrance to such as had a mind to make use of the virtue of their conductor. But afterward he took him to himself, and when he had him alone, he instructed him in what he ought to do; and advised him to leave the trouble of lesser causes to others, but himself to take care of the greater, and of the people's safety, for that certain others of the Hebrews might be found that were fit to determine causes, but that nobody but a Moses could take care of the safety of so many ten thousands. Be not, therefore, says he, insensible of thine own virtue, and what thou hast done by ministering under God to the people's preservation. Permit, therefore, the determination of common causes to be done by others, but do thou reserve thyself to the attendance on God only, and look out for methods of preserving the multitude from their present distress. Make use of the method I suggest to you, as to human affairs; and take a review of the army, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and then over thousands: then divide them into five hundreds; and again into hundreds, and into fifties; and set rulers over each of them, who may distinguish them into thirties, and keep them in order; and at last number them by twenties and by tens: and let there be one commander over each number, to be denominated from the number of those over whom they are rulers, but such as the whole mul-

titude have tried, and do * approve of, as being good and righteous men ; and let these rulers decide the controversies they have one with another. But if any great cause arise, let them bring the cognizance of it before the rulers of an higher dignity ; but if any great difficulty arise that is too hard for even their determination, let them send it to thee. By these means two advantages will be gained ; that the Hebrews will have justice done them ; and thou wilt be able to attend constantly on God, and procure him to be more favourable to the people.

2. This was the admonition of Raguel ; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal the invention of this method, nor pretend to it himself, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it : nay, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote, as the person who invented this ordering of the people, as thinking it right to give a true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have gotten reputation by ascribing to himself the inventions of other men. Whence we may learn the virtuous disposition of Moses : but of such his disposition, we shall have proper occasion to speak in other places of these books.

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CHAP. V.

How Moses ascended up to Mount Sinai, and received laws from God, and delivered them to the Hebrews.

§ 1. Now Moses called the multitude together, and told them, that he was going from them unto mount Sinai to converse with God ; to receive from him, and to bring back with him a certain oracle : but he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer the habitation that was nearest to God, before one more remote. When he had said this, he ascended up to mount Sinai, which † is the

* This manner of electing the judges and officers of the Israelites by the *testimonies* and *suffrages* of the people, before they were *ordained* by God, or Moses, deserves to be carefully noted, because it was the pattern of the like manner of the choice and ordination of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, in the Christian church.

† Since this mountain Sinai is here said to be the *highest of all the mountains that are in that country*, it must be that now called *St. Katharine's*, which is one third higher than that within a mile of it now called *Sinai*, as Mons. Thevenot informs us. *Travels*, part 1.

highest of all the mountains that are in that country, and is not only very difficult to be ascended by men, on account of its vast altitude, but because of the sharpness of its precipices also; nay, indeed, it cannot be looked at without pain of the eyes: and besides this, it was terrible and inaccessible, on account of the rumour that passed about, that God dwelt there. But the Hebrews removed their tents, as Moses had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain; and were elevated in their minds, in expectation that Moses would return from God with promises of the good things he had proposed to them: so they feasted, and waited for their conductor; and kept themselves pure, as in other respects, and not accompanying with their wives for three days, as he had before ordered them to do. And they prayed to God, that he would favourably receive Moses in his conversing with him; and bestow some such gift upon them by which they might live well. They also lived more plentifully as to their diet; and put on their wives and children more ornamental and decent clothing than they usually wore.

2. So they passed two days in this way of feasting; but on the third day, before the sun was up, a cloud spread itself over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such an one as none had before seen, and encompassed the place where they had pitched their tents; and while all the rest of the air was clear, there came strong winds, that raised up large showers of rain, which became a mighty tempest. There was also such lightning, as was terrible to those that saw it; and thunder, with its thunder-bolts were sent down, and declared God to be there present in a gracious way to such as Moses desired he should be gracious. Now as to these matters, every one of my readers may think as he pleases; but I am under a necessity of relating this history as it is described in the sacred books. This sight, and the amazing sound that came to their ears, disturbed the Hebrews to a prodigious de-

ch. xxviii. p. 168. The other name of it, *Horeb*, is never used by Josephus; and perhaps was its name among the Egyptians only, whence the Israelites were lately come, as *Sinai* was its name among the Arabians, Canaanites, and other nations. Accordingly, when (1 Kings ix. 8.) the scripture says, that *Elijah came to Horeb, the mount of God*, Josephus justly says, *Antiq. B. viii. ch. xiii. § 7. that he came to the mountain called Sinai*, and Jerom, here cited by Dr. Hudson, says, that he took this mountain to have two names, *Sinai* and *Chereb*. See *Nom. Heb.* p. 427.

gree, for they were not such as they were accustomed to ; and then the rumours that was spread abroad, how God frequented that mountain, greatly astonished their minds, so they sorrowfully contained themselves within their tents, as both supposing Moses to be destroyed by the divine wrath, and expecting the like destruction for themselves.

3. When they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared as joyful and greatly exalted. When they saw him, they were freed from their fear, and admitted of more comfortable hopes as to what was to come. The air also was become clear, and pure of its former disorders, upon the appearance of Moses. Whereupon he called together the people to a congregation, in order to their hearing what God would say to them : and when they were gathered together, he stood on an eminence, whence they might all hear him, and said, " God has received me graciously, O Hebrews, as he has formerly done ; and has suggested an happy method of living for you, and an order of political government, and is now present in the camp : I, therefore, charge you for his sake, and the sake of his works, and that we have done by his means, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, because the commands have been given by me that now deliver them to you, nor because it is the tongue of a man that delivers them to you ; but if you have a due regard to the great importance of the things themselves, you will understand the greatness of him whose institutions they are, and who has not disdained to communicate them to me for our common advantage ; for it is not to be supposed, that the author of these institutions is barely Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but he who obliged the Nile to run bloody for your sakes, and tamed the haughtiness of the Egyptians by various sorts of judgments : he who provided a way through the sea for us : he who contrived a method of sending us food from heaven, when we were distressed for want of it : he who made the waters to issue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before : he by whose means Adam was made to partake of the fruits both of the land and of the sea : he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge : he by whose means our forefather Abraham, of a wandering pilgrim, was made the heir of the land of Canaan : he by whose means Isaac was born of parents who were very old : he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons : he by whose means Joseph became a potent

lord over the Egyptians : he it is who conveys these instructions to you by me as his interpreter. And let them be to you venerable, and contended for more earnestly by you than your own children, and your own wives ; for if you will follow them, you will lead an happy life ; you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the womb born complete, as nature requires ; you will be also terrible to your enemies : for I have been admitted into the presence of God, and been made a hearer of his incorruptible voice ; so great is his concern for your nation, and its duration."

4. When he had said this, he brought the people, with their wives and children, so near the mountain, that they might hear God himself speaking to them about the precepts which they were to practise ; that the energy of what should be spoken might not be hurt by its utterance by that tongue of a man, which could but imperfectly deliver it to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, insomuch that not one of these words escaped them, which Moses wrote in two tables ; which it is not * lawful for us to set down directly, but their import we will declare.

5. The first commandment teaches us, that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only. The second commands us not to make the image of any living creature to worship it. The third, that we must not swear by God in a false matter. The fourth, that we must keep the seventh day, by resting from all sort of work. The fifth, that we must honour our parents. The sixth, that we must abstain from murder. The seventh, that we must not commit adultery. The eighth, that we must not be guilty of theft. The ninth, that we must not bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not admit of the desire of any thing that is another's.

6. Now when the multitude had heard God himself giving those precepts which Moses had discoursed of, they rejoiced at what was said ; and the congregation was dissolved : but on the following days they came to his tent, and desired him to bring them besides other laws from God. Accordingly, he appointed such laws ; and afterward informed them in what manner they should act in all cases ; which laws I shall make mention of in their proper time : but I shall reserve

* Of this and an another like superstitious notion of the Pharisees, which Josephus complied with, see the note on Antiq. B ii. ch. 12.
† 4.

most of those laws for * another work, and make there a distinct explication of them.

7. When matters were brought to this state, Moses went up again to Mount Sinai, of which he had told them beforehand. He made his ascent in their sight ; and while he stayed there so long a time, for he was absent from them forty days, fear seized the Hebrews, lest Moses should have come to any harm ; nor was there any thing else so sad, and that so much troubled them, as this supposal, that Moses was perished. Now there was a variety in their sentiments about it, some saying that he was fallen among wild beasts, and those that were of this opinion were chiefly such as were ill-disposed to him ; but others saying, that he was departed and gone to God ; but the wiser sort were led by their reason to embrace neither of those opinions with any satisfaction, thinking that it was a thing that sometimes happens to men to fall among wild beasts, and perish that way, so it was probable enough that he might depart, and go to God, on account of his virtue, they therefore were quiet, and expected the event : yet were they exceeding sorry upon the supposal that they were deprived of a governor and a protector, such an one indeed as they could never recover again ; nor would this suspicion give them leave to expect any comfortable event about this man, nor could they prevent their trouble and melancholy upon this occasion. However, the camp durst not remove all this while, because Moses had bid them afore to stay there.

8. But when the forty days, and as many nights, were over, Moses came down, having tasted nothing of food usually appointed for the nourishment of men. His appearance filled the army with gladness, and he declared to them what care God had of them, and by what manner of conduct of their lives they might live happily ; telling them, that during these days of his absence, he had suggested to him also that he would have a tabernacle built for him, into which he would descend when he came to them ; and how we should carry it about with us when we remove from this place ; and that there would be no longer occasion for going up to mount Sinai, but that he would himself come and

* This other work of Josephus's here referred to, seems to be that which does not appear to have been ever published, which yet he intended to publish, about the reasons of many of the laws of Moses ; of which see the note on the preface, † 4

pitch his tabernacle amongst us, and be present at our prayers ; as also, that the tabernacle should be of such measures and constructions as he had showed him, and that you are to fall to the work, and prosecute it diligently. When he had said this, he showed them the two tables, with the ten commandments engraven upon them, five upon each table ; and the writing was by the hand of God.

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CHAP. VI.

Concerning the tabernacle which Moses built in the wilderness for the honour of God, and which seemed to be a temple.

§ 1. HEREUPON the Israelites rejoiced at what they had seen and heard of their conductor, and were not wanting in diligence according to their ability ; but they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and of the best sorts of wood, and such as would not at all decay by putrefaction ; camels' hair also, and sheep-skins, some of them dyed of a blue colour, and some of a scarlet ; some brought the flower for the purple colour, and others for white ; with the wool dyed by the flowers aforementioned ; and fine linen, and precious stones, which those that use costly ornaments set in couches of gold ; they brought also a great quantity of spices ; for of these materials did Moses build the tabernacle, which did not at all differ from a moveable and ambulatory temple. Now when these things were brought together with great diligence, for every one was ambitious to further the work, even beyond their ability, he set architects over the works, and this by the command of God ; and indeed the very same which the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been allowed to them. Now their names are set down in writing in the sacred books ; and they were these, Besaleel, the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Miriam, the sister of their conductor ; and Aholiah, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. Now the people went on with what they had undertaken with so great alacrity, that Moses was obliged to restrain them, by making proclamation that what had been brought was sufficient, as the artificers had informed him. So they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses also informed them, according to the direction of God, both what the measures were to be, and its largeness ; and how many

vessels it ought to contain for the use of the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their parts about the garments of the priests, and about other things that would be wanted in this work, both for ornament, and for the divine service itself.

2. Now when all these things were prepared, the gold, and the silver, and the brass, and what was woven, Moses, when he had appointed beforehand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifices should be offered according to every one's ability, * reared up the tabernacle. And when he had measured the open court, fifty cubits broad, and an hundred long, he set up brazen pillars, five cubits high, twenty on each of the longer sides, and ten pillars for the breadth behind; every one of the pillars also had a ring. Their chapiters were of silver, but their bases were of brass; they resembled the sharp ends of spears, and were of brass fixed into the ground. Cords were also put through the rings, and were tied at their farther ends to brass nails of a cubit long, which at every pillar were driven into the floor, and would keep the tabernacle from being shaken by the violence of winds. But a curtain of fine soft linen went around all the pillars, and hung down in a flowing and loose manner from their chapiters, and enclosed the whole space, and seemed not at all unlike to a wall about it. And this was the structure of three of the sides of this enclosure. But as for the fourth side which was fifty cubits in extent, and was the front of the whole, twenty cubits of it were for the opening at the gates, wherein stood two pillars on each side, after the resemblance of open gates, these were made wholly of silver and polished, and that all over, excepting the bases, which were of brass. Now on each side of the gates there stood three pillars, which were inserted into the concave bases of the gates, and were suited to them; and round them was drawn a curtain of fine linen. But to the gates themselves, which were twenty cubits in extent, and five in height, the curtain was composed of purple, and scarlet, and blue, and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers sorts of figures, excepting the figures of animals. Within these gates was the brazen laver for purification, having a bason beneath, of the like matter, whence the priests might

* Of this tabernacle of Moses, with its several parts and furniture, see my description at large, ch. vi. vii. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. hereto belonging.

wash their hands and sprinkle their feet. And this was the ornamental construction of the enclosure about the court of the tabernacle, which was exposed to the open air.

3. As to the tabernacle itself, Moses placed it in the middle of that court, with its front to the east, that when the sun arose it might send its first rays upon it. Its length, when it was set up, was thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve [ten] cubits. The one of its walls was on the south, and the other was exposed to the north, and on the back part of it remained the west. It was necessary that its height should be equal to its breadth [ten cubits.] There were also pillars made of wood, twenty on each side; they were wrought into a quadrangular figure, in breadth a cubit and an half, but the thickness was four fingers: they had thin plates of gold affixed to them on both sides, inwardly and outwardly: they had each of them two tenons belonging to them inserted in their bases, and these were of silver; in each of which bases there was a socket to receive the tenon. But the pillars on the west wall were six. Now all these tenons and sockets accurately fitted one another; insomuch that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was also covered with gold both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on the opposite sides, and there were on each part twenty, and every one of them had the third part of a span in thickness; so that the number of thirty cubits were fully made up between them. But as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together only nine cubits, they made two other pillars, and cut them out of one cubit, which they placed in the corners, and made them equally fine with the other. Now every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their fronts outward, as if they had taken root in the pillars, and stood one row over against another round about, through which were inserted bars girt over with gold, each of them five cubits long, and these bound together the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, after the nature of one tenon inserted into another. But for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls, the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firmly together; and for this reason was all this joined so fast together, that the tabernacle might not be shaken,

either by the winds, or by any other means, but that it might preserve itself quiet and immoveable continually.

4. As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the most secret end, Moses placed four pillars, whose workmanship was the very same with that of the rest; and they stood upon the like bases with them, each a small matter distant from his fellow. Now the room within those pillars was the *Most Holy Place*; but the rest of the room was the *Tabernacle*, which was open for the priests. However, this proportion of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world; for that third part thereof which was within the four pillars, to which the priests were not admitted, is, as it were, an heaven, peculiar to God: but the space of the twenty cubits is, as it were, sea and land, on which men live, and so this part is peculiar to the priests only. But at the front, where the entrance was made, they placed pillars of gold, that stood on bases of brass, in number seven; but then they spread over the tabernacle vails of fine linen, and purple, and blue, and scarlet colours, embroidered. The first vail was ten cubits every way, and this they spread over the pillars which parted the temple, and kept the most holy place concealed within; and this vail was that which made this part not visible to any. Now the whole temple was called *The Holy Place*; but that part which was within the four pillars, and to which none were admitted, was called *The Holy of Holies*. This vail was very ornamental, and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces; and there was interwoven into it all sorts of variety that might be an ornament, excepting the forms of animals. Another vail there was which covered the five pillars that were at the entrance: it was like the former in its magnitude, and texture, and colour; and at the corner of every pillar a ring retained it from the top downwards, half the depth of the pillars, the other half affording an entrance for the priests, who crept under it. Over this there was a vail of linen, of the same largeness with the former; it was to be drawn this way or that way by cords, whose rings, fixed to the texture of the vail, and to the cords also, were subservient to the drawing and undrawing of the vail, and to the fastening it at the corner, that then it might be no hindrance to the view of the sanctuary, especially on solemn days; but that on other days, and especially when the weather was inclined to snow, it

might be expanded, and afford a covering to the vail of diverse colours: whence that custom of ours is derived, of having a fine linen vail, after the temple has been built, to be drawn over the entrances. But the ten other curtains were four cubits in breadth, and twenty-eight in length, and had golden clasps, in order to join the one curtain to the other, which was done so exactly, that they seemed to be one entire curtain; these were spread over the temple, and covered all the top, and parts of the walls, on the sides and behind, so far as within one cubit of the ground. There were other curtains of the same breadth with these, but one more in number, and longer, for they were thirty cubits long; but these were woven of hair, with the like subtilty as those of wool were made, and were extended loosely down to the ground, appearing like a triangular front and elevation at the gates; the eleventh curtain being used for this very purpose. There were also other curtains made of skins above these, which afforded covering and protection to those that were woven, both in hot weather, and when it rained. And great was the surprise of those who viewed these curtains at a distance, for they seemed not at all to differ from the colour of the sky. But those that were made of hair, and of skins, reached down in the same manner as did the vail at the gates, and kept off the heat of the sun, and what injury the rains might do. And after this manner was the tabernacle reared.

5. There was also an ark made, sacred to God, of wood, that was naturally strong, and could not be corrupted: this was called *Eron*, in our own language. Its construction was thus: its length was five spans, but its breadth and height was each of them three spans: it was covered all over with gold, both within and without, so that the wooden part was not seen. It had also a cover united to it by golden hinges, after a wonderful manner; which cover was every way evenly fitted to it, and had no eminences to hinder its exact conjunction. There were also two golden rings belonging to each of the longer boards, and passing through the entire wood, and through them gilt bars passed along each board, that it might thereby be moved and carried about, as occasion should require; for it was not drawn in a cart by beasts of burden, but borne on the shoulders of the priests. Upon this its cover were two images, which the Hebrews call *Che-rubims*; they are flying creatures, but their form is not like to that of any of the creatures which men have seen, though

Moses said he had seen such beings near the throne of God. In this ark he put the two tables whereon the ten commandments were written, five upon each table, and two and an half upon each side of them: and this ark he placed in the most holy place.

6. But in the holy place he placed a table, like those at Delphi: its length was two cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and its height three spans. It had feet also, the lower half of which were complete feet, resembling those which the Dorians put to their bed-steads, but the upper parts towards the table were brought into a square form. The table had an hollow towards every side, having a ledge of four fingers depth, that went round about like a spiral, both on the upper and lower part of the body of the work. Upon every one of the feet was there also inserted a ring, not far from the cover, through which went bars of wood beneath, but gilded, to be taken out upon occasion, there being a cavity where it is joined to the rings; for they were not entire rings, but before they came quite round they ended in acute points, the one of which was inserted into the prominent part of the table, and the other into the foot; and by these it was carried when they journeyed. Upon this table, which was placed on the north side of the temple, not far from the most holy place, were laid twelve unleavened loaves of bread, six upon each heap, one above another; they were made of two tenth deals of the purest flour, which tenth deal [an homer] is a measure of the Hebrews, containing seven Athenian *cotylae*; and above these loaves were put two vials full of frankincense. Now after seven days other loaves were brought in their stead, on the day which is by us called the *Sabbath*; for we call the seventh day the *Sabbath*; but for the occasion of this invention of placing loaves here, we will speak to it in another place.

7. Over against this table, near the southern wall, was a set candlestick of cast gold, hollow within, being of the weight of one hundred pounds, which the Hebrews call *cinchares*; if it be turned into the Greek language, denotes a *talent*. It was made with its knops, and lilies, and pomegranates, and bowls, (which ornaments amounted to seventy in all); by which means the shaft elevated itself on high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them. It terminated in seven heads, in one row, all standing parallel to one ano-

ther; and these branches carried seven lamps, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets: these lamps looked to the east and to the south, the candlestick being situate obliquely.

8. Now between this candlestick and the table, which, as we said, were within the sanctuary, was the altar of incense, made of wood indeed, but of the same wood of which the foregoing vessels were made, such as were not liable to corruption: it was entirely crusted over with a golden plate. Its breadth on each side was a cubit, but the altitude double. Upon it was a grate of gold, that was extant above the altar, which had a golden crown that encompassed it round about, whereto belonged rings and bars, by which the priests carried it when they journeyed. Before this tabernacle there was reared a brazen altar, but it was within made of wood, five cubits by measure on each side, but its height was but three, in like manner adorned with brass plates as bright as gold. It had also a brazen hearth of net-work, for the ground underneath received the fire from the hearth, because it had no basis to receive it. Hard by this altar lay the basons, and the vials, and the censers, and the caldrons, made of gold: but the other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices, were all of brass. And such was the construction of the tabernacle; and these were the vessels thereto belonging.

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CHAP. VII.

Which were the garments of the Priests, and of the High-Priest: concerning the priesthood of Aaron, with the manner of the purifications and sacrifices; as also concerning the festivals, and how each day was then disposed of; with other laws.

§ 1. THERE were peculiar garments appointed for the priests, and for all the rest which they call *Cahanaeae* [priestly] garments, as also for the high-priests, which they call *Cahanaeae Rabbae*, and denote the high-priest's garments. Such was, therefore, the habit of the rest. But when the priest approaches the sacrifices, he purifies himself with the purification which the law prescribes; and in the first place, he puts on that which is called *Machanase*, which means somewhat that is fast tied. It is a girdle composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them in the nature of breeches,

but above half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs, and is there tied fast.

2. Over this he wore a linen vestment, made of fine flax doubled; it is called *Chethone*, and denotes linen, for we call linen by the name of *Chethone*. This vestment reaches down to the feet, sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine twined linen, but the warp was nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumvolution is at the breast, and when it has gone often round it is there tied, and hangs loosely there down to the ankles; I mean this, all the time the priest is not about any laborious service, for in this position it appears in the most agreeable manner to the spectators; but when he is obliged to assist at the offering sacrifices, and to do the appointed service, that he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it to the left, and bears it on his shoulder. Moses indeed calls this belt *Abaneth*; but we have learned from the Babylonians to call it *Emia*, for so it is by them called. This vestment has no loose or hollow parts any where in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and is fastened above each shoulder: it is called *Massabazanes*.

3. Upon his head he wears a cap, not brought to a conic form, nor encircling the whole head, but still covering more than the half of it, which is called *Masnaemphthes*: and its make is such, that it seems to be a crown, being made of thick swathes, but the contexture is of linen; and it is doubled round many times, and sewed together: besides which, a piece of fine linen covers the whole cap from the upper part, and reaches down to the forehead, and hides the seams of the swathes, which would otherwise appear indecently; this adheres closely upon the solid part of the head, and is hitherto so firmly fixed, that it may not fall off during the sacred service about the sacrifices. So we have now showed you what is the habit of the generality of the priests.

4. The high-priest is indeed adorned with the same garments that we have described, without abating one, only

over these he puts on a vestment of blue colour. This also is a long robe, reaching to his feet: in our language it is called *Meeir*, and is tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same colours and flowers as the former, with a mixture of gold interwoven; to the bottom of which garment are hung fringes, in colour like pomegranates, with golden * bells, by a curious and beautiful contrivance; so that between two bells hang a pomegranate, and between two pomegranates a bell. Now this vesture was not composed of two pieces, nor was it sewed together upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was one long vestment so woven as to have an aperture for the neck; not an oblique one, but parted all along the breast and the back. A border also was sewed to it, lest the aperture should look too indecently; it was also parted where the hands were to come out.

5. Besides these, the high-priest put on a third garment, which was called the *Ephod*, which resembles the *Epomis* of the Greeks. Its make was after this manner: it was woven to the depth of a cubit, of several colours, with gold intermixed, and embroidered, but it left the middle of the breast uncovered: it was made with sleeves also; nor did it appear to be at all differently made from a short coat. But in the void place of this garment there was inserted a piece, of the bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and the other colours of the ephod, and is called *Essen* [the *Breast-plate*,] which, in the Greek language, signifies the *Oracle*. This piece exactly filled up the void space in the ephod. It is united to it by golden rings at every corner, the like rings being annected to the ephod, and a blue ribband was made use of to tie them together by those rings; and that the space between the rings might not appear empty,

* The use of these golden bells, at the bottom of the high-priest's long garment, seems to me to have been this, that by shaking his garment, at the time of his offering incense in the temple, on the great day of expiation, or at other proper periods of his sacred ministrations there, on the great festivals, the people might have notice of it, and might fall to their own prayers at the time of incense, or other proper periods; and so the whole congregation might at once offer those common prayers jointly with the high-priest himself to the Almighty. See Luc. i. 10. Apoc. viii. 3, 4. Nor, probably, is the father of Sirach to be otherwise understood, when he says of Aaron, the first high-priest, Eccles. xlv. 9. *And God encompassed Aaron with pomegranates, and with many golden bells round about, that as he went there might be a sound, and a noise made, that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people.*

they contrived to fill it up with stitches of blue ribbands. There were also two sardonyxes upon the ephod, at the shoulders, to fasten it, in the nature of buttons, having each end running to the sardonyxes of gold, that they might be buttoned by them. On these were engraven the names of the sons of Jacob, in our own country letters, and our own tongue, six on each of the stones, on either side; and the elder sons names were on the right shoulder. Twelve stones also there were upon the breast-plate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty; and they were an ornament not to be purchased by men, because of their immense value. These stones, however, stood in three rows, by four in a row, and were inserted into the breast-plate itself, and they were set in ouches of gold, that were themselves inserted in the breast-plate, and were so made that they might not fall out. Now the first three stones were a sardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a ligure, then an amethyst, and the third an agate, being the ninth of the whole number. The first of the fourth row was a chrysolite, the next was an oynx, and then a beryl, which was the last of all. Now the names of all those sons of Jacob were engraven in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honour of a name, in the order according to which they were born. And whereas the rings were too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings, of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breast-plate which reached the neck, and inserted into the very texture of the breast-plate, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards, and went into the ring, on the prominent back part of the ephod; and this was for the security of the breast-plate, that it might not fall out of its place. There was also a girdle sewed to the breast-plate, which was the forementioned colours, with gold intermixed, which when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also golden loops that admitted its fringes at each extremity of the girdle, and included them entirely.

6. The high-priest's mitre was the same that we described before, and was wrought like that of all the other priest's;

above which there was another, with swathes of blue embroidered, and round it was a golden crown polished, of three rows one above another; out of which arose a cup of gold, which resembled the herb which we call *Saccharus*, but those Greeks that are skilful in botany call it *Hyoscyamus*. Now lest any one that has seen this herb, but has not been taught its name, and is unacquainted with its nature, or having known its name, knows not the herb when he sees it, I shall to such give a description of it. This herb is oftentimes in tallness above three spans, but its root is like that of a turnip, (for he that should compare it thereto, would not be mistaken,) but its leaves are like to the leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a calyx, claving to the branch, and a coat encompasses it, which it naturally puts off when it is changing, in order to produce its fruit. This calyx is of the bigness of the bone of the little finger, but in the compass of its aperture is like a cup. This I will farther describe for the use of those that are unacquainted with it. Suppose a sphere be divided into two parts, round at the bottom, but having another segment that grows up to a circumference from that bottom: suppose it become narrower by degrees, and that the cavity of that part grow decently smaller, and then gradually grow wider again at the brim, such as we see in the navel of a pomegranate, with its notches. And indeed such a coat grows over this plant as renders it an hemisphere, and that as one may say, turned accurately in a lathe, and having its notches extant above it, which, as I said, grow like a pomegranate, only that they are sharp, and end in nothing but prickles. Now the fruit is preserved by this coat of the calyx, which fruit is like the seed of the herb *sideritis*; it sends out a flower that may seem to resemble that of poppy. Of this was a crown made, as far as from the hinder part of the head to each of the temples; but this *ephielis*, for so this calyx may be called, did not cover the forehead, but it was covered with a * *golden plate*, which had inscribed upon it the name of God, in sacred characters. And such were the ornaments of the high-priest.

* The reader ought to take notice here, that the very *Mosaic petalon* or *golden plate*, for the forehead of the Jewish high-priest, was it self preserved, not only till the days of Josephus, but of Origen; and that its inscription, *Holiness to the Lord*, was in the Samaritan characters. See *Antiq. B. vii. ch. iii. § 8*. Essay on the Old Test. p. 154. and Reland, *De Spol. Templi*. p. 132.

7. Now here one may wonder at the ill will which men bear to us, and which they profess to bear on account of our despising that Deity which they pretend to honour: for if any one do but consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and take a view of the garments of the high-priest, and of those vessels which we make use of in our sacred ministration, he will find that our legislator was a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others; for if any one do, without prejudice, and with judgment, look upon these things, he will find they were every one made in way of imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses distinguished the tabernacle into * three parts, and allowed two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he denoted the land and the sea, these being of general access to all; but he set apart the third division for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men. And when he ordered twelve loaves to be set on the table, he denoted the year, as distinguished into so many months. By branching out the candlestick into seventy parts, he secretly intimated the *Decani*, or seventy divisions of the planets, and as to the seven lamps upon the candlesticks, they referred to the course of the planets, of which that is the number. The vails too, which were composed of four things, they declared the four elements: for the fine linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flax grows out of the earth. The purple signifies the sea, because that colour is dyed by the blood of a sea shell-fish. The blue is fit to signify the air; and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Now the vestment of the high-priest being made of linen, signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of the bells resembling thunder. And for the ephod, it showed, that God had made the universe of four [elements;] and as for the gold interwoven, I suppose it related to the splendour by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breast-plate to be placed in the middle of the ephod, to resemble the earth, for that has the

* When Josephus, both here and ch. vi. § 4. supposes the tabernacle to have been parted into three parts, he seems to esteem the bare entrance to be a third division, distinct from the holy and the most holy places; and this the rather, because in the temple afterward there was a real distinct third part, which was called the *Porch*, otherwise Josephus would contradict his own description of the tabernacle, which gives us a particular account of no more than two parts.

very middle place of the world. And the girdle which encompassed the high-priest round, signified the ocean, for that goes round about and includes the universe. Each of the sardonyxes declares to us the sun and the moon, those, I mean, that were in the nature of buttons on the high-priest's shoulders. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or whether we understand the like number of the signs of that circle which the Greeks call the *Zodiac*, we shall not be mistaken in their meaning. And for the mitre, which was of a blue colour, it seems to me to mean heaven; for how otherwise could the name of God be inscribed upon it? That it was also illustrated with a crown, and that of gold also, is because of that splendour with which God is pleased. Let this * explication suffice at present, since the course of my narration will often, and on many occasions, afford me the opportunity of enlarging on the virtue of our legislator.

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CHAP. VIII.

Of the priesthood of Aaron.

§ 1. WHEN what has been described was brought to a conclusion, gifts not being presented, God appeared to Moses, and enjoined him to bestow the high-priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as upon him that best of them all deserved to obtain that honour, on account of his virtue. And

* This explication of the mystical meaning of the Jewish tabernacle, and its vessels, with the garments of the high-priest, is taken out of Philo, and fitted to Gentile philosophical notions. This may possibly be forgiven in Jews, greatly versed in heathen learning and philosophy, as Philo had ever been, and as Josephus had long been, when he wrote these Antiquities. In the mean time, it is not to be doubted, but in their education they must have both learned more Jewish interpretations, such as we meet with in the epistle of Barnabas, in that to the Hebrews, and elsewhere among the old Jews. Accordingly, when Josephus wrote his books of the Jewish War, for the use of the Jews, at which time he was comparatively young, and less used to Gentile books, we find one specimen of such a Jewish interpretation; for there (B. vii. ch. v. § 5.) he makes the seven branches of the temple candlestick, with their seven lamps, an emblem of the seven days of creation and rest, which were here emblems of the seven planets. Nor certainly ought ancient Jewish emblems to be explained any otherwise, than according to ancient Jewish, and not Gentile notions. See of the War, B. i. ch. xxxiii. § 3.

when he had gathered the multitude together, he gave them an account of Aaron's virtue, and of his good-will to them, and of the dangers he had undergone for their sakes. Upon which, when they had given testimony to him in all respects, and had showed their readiness to receive him, Moses said to them, "O you Israelites, this work is already brought to a conclusion, in a manner most acceptable to God, and according to our abilities. And now since you see that he is received into this tabernacle, we shall first of all stand in need of one that may officiate for us, and may minister to the sacrifices, and to the prayers that are to be put up for us. And indeed had the inquiry after such a person been left to me, I should have thought myself worthy of this honour, both because all men are naturally fond of themselves, and because I am conscious to myself, that I have taken a great deal of pains for your deliverance: but now God himself has determined that Aaron is worthy of this honour, and has chosen him for his priest, as knowing him to be the most righteous person among you: so that he is to put on the vestments which are consecrated to God; he is to have the care of the altars, and to make provision for the sacrifices; and he it is that must put up prayers for you to God, who will readily hear them, not only because he is himself solicitous for your nation, but also because he will receive them as offered by one that he hath himself chosen to this office."* The Hebrews were pleased with what was said, and they gave their approbation to him whom God had ordained; for Aaron was of them all the most deserving of this honour, on account of his own stock and gift of prophecy, and his brother's virtue. He had at that time four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

2. Now Moses commanded them to make use of all the utensils which were more than were necessary to the structure of the tabernacle, for covering the tabernacle itself, the candlestick, and altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might not be at all hurt when they journeyed, either

* It is well worth our observation, that the two principal qualifications required in this section, for the constitution of the first high-priest, viz. that he should have an excellent *character* for virtuous and good actions; and also that he should have the *approbation* of the people, are here noted by Josephus, even where the nomination belonged to God himself, which are the very same qualifications which the Christian religion requires in the choice of Christian bishops, priests, and deacons, as the Apostolical Constitutions inform us, B. ii. ch. iii.

by the rain, or by the rising of the dust. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordained that they should offer half a shekel for every man as an oblation to God; which shekel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to * four Athenian drachmae. Whereupon they readily obeyed what Moses had commanded; and the number of the offerers was six hundred and five thousand, five hundred and fifty. Now this money that was brought by the men that were free, was given by such as were above twenty years old, but under fifty; and what was collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

3. Moses now purified the tabernacle, and the priests; which purification was performed after the following manner: he commanded them to take five hundred shekels of choice myrrh, an equal quantity of cassia, and half the foregoing weight of cinnamon and calamus, (this last is a sort of sweet spice,) to beat them small, and wet them with an hin of oil of olives, (an hin is our own country measure, and contains two Athenian choas or conguses,) then mix them together, and boil them, and prepare them after the art of the apothecary, and make them into a very sweet ointment; and afterward to take it to anoint and to purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the sacrifices. There were also many, and those of various kinds of sweet spices, that belonged to the tabernacle, and such as were of very great price, and were brought to the golden altar of incense; whose nature I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to my readers. But † incense was to be offered twice a-day, both before sun-rising and at sun-setting. They were also to keep oil already purified for the lamps; ‡

* This weight and value of the Jewish shekel, in the days of Josephus, equal to about 2s. 10d. sterling, is by the learned Jews owned to be one fifth larger than were their old shekels; which determination agrees perfectly with the remaining shekels that have Samaritan inscriptions, coined generally by Simon the Maccabee, about 220 years before Josephus published his Antiquities, which never weigh more than 2s. 4d. halfpenny, and commonly but 2s. 4d. farthing. See Reland, *De Nummis Samaritanorum*, p. 188.

† This incense was here offered, according to Josephus's opinion, before sun-rising, and at sun-setting. But in the days of Pompey, according to the same Josephus, the sacrifices were offered in the morning, and at the ninth hour. *Antiq. B. xiv. ch. iv. § 3.*

‡ Hence we may correct the opinions of the modern Rabbins, who say, that only one of the seven lamps burned in the day-time, whereas our Josephus, an eye-witness, says there were three.

three of which were to give light all day long, upon the sacred candlestick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted at the evening.

4. Now all was finished, Besaleel and Aholiah appeared to be the most skilful of the workmen; for they invented finer works than what others had done before them, and were of great abilities to gain notions of what they were formerly ignorant of; and of these Besaleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work was the interval of seven months; and after this it was that was ended the first year since their departure out of Egypt. But at the beginning of the second year, on the month Xanthicus, as the Macedonians call it, but on the month Nisan, as the Hebrews call it, on the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle, and all its vessels, which I have already described.

5. Now God showed himself pleased with the work of the Hebrews, and did not permit their labours to be in vain; nor did he disdain to make use of what they had made, but he came and sojourned with them, and pitched his tabernacle in the holy house. And in the following manner did he come to it: the sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as is seen in the winter season, nor yet in so thin an one as men might be able to discern any thing through it; but from it there dropped a sweet dew, and such as showed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

6. Now when Moses had bestowed such honorary presents on the workmen, as it was fit they should receive, who had wrought so well, he offered sacrifices in the open court of the tabernacle, as God commanded him, a bull, a ram, and a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our sacred offices, in my discourse about sacrifice; and therein shall inform men in what cases Moses bid us offer a whole burnt-offering, and in what cases the law permits us to partake of them as of food. And when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments himself, and his sons, with the blood of the beasts that were slain, and had purified them with spring waters and ointment, they became God's priests. After this manner did he consecrate them, and their garments, for seven days together. The same he did to the tabernacle, and the vessels thereto belonging, both with oil first incensed, as I said, and with the blood of bulls, and of rams,

slain day by day one, according to its kind. But on the eighth day he appointed a feast for the people, and commanded them to offer sacrifice according to their ability. Accordingly, they contended one with another, and were ambitious to exceed each other in the sacrifices which they brought, and so fulfilled Moses's injunctions. But as the sacrifices lay upon the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them, of its own accord, and appeared to the sight like fire from a flash of lightning, and consumed whatsoever was upon the altar.

7. Hereupon an affliction befell Aaron, considered as a man and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude ; for he had indeed a firmness of soul in such accidents, and he thought this calamity came upon him according to God's will : for whereas he had four sons, as I said before, the two elder of them, Nadab and Abihu, did not bring those sacrifices which Moses bade them bring, but which they used to offer formerly, and were burnt to death. Now when the fire rushed upon them, and began to burn them, nobody could quench it. Accordingly, they died in this manner. And Moses bid their father, and their brethren, to take up their bodies, to carry them out of the camp, and to bury them magnificently. Now the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at this their death, which so unexpectedly befell them. But Moses entreated their brethren, and their father, not to be troubled for them, and to prefer their honour of God before their grief about them ; for Aaron had already put on his sacred garments.

8. But Moses refused all that honour which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, and attended to nothing else but to the service of God. He went no more up to Mount Sinai ; but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers to God for what he prayed for. His habit was also that of a private man ; and in all other circumstances he behaved himself like one of the common people, and was desirous to appear without distinguishing himself from the multitude, but would have it known that he did nothing else but take care of them. He also set down in writing the form of their government, and those laws, by obedience whereto they would lead their lives so as to please God, and so as to have no quarrels among one another. However, the laws he ordained were such as God suggested to him : so I shall now discourse concerning that form of government, and those laws.

9. I will now treat of what I before omitted, the garment of the high priest: for he [Moses] left no room for the evil practices of [false] prophets; but if some of that sort should attempt to abuse the divine authority, he * left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent. And he was willing this should be known, not to the Hebrews only, but to those foreigners also who were there. For as to those stones † which we told you

* Of this strange expression, that *Moses left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent*, see the note on B. ii. against Apion, § 16. vol. vi.

† These answers by the oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*, which words signify *light* and *perfection*, or, as the Septuagint render them, *revelation* and *truth*, and denote nothing further, that I see, but the shining stones themselves, which were used in this method of *illumination*, in *revealing* the will of God, after a *perfect* and *true* manner, to his people Israel, I say, these answers were not made by the shining of the precious stones, after an awkward manner, in the high-priest's breast-plate, as the modern Rabbins vainly suppose; for certainly the shining of the stones might precede or accompany the oracle, without itself delivering that oracle, (See *Antiquities*, B. vi. ch. vi. § 4.) but rather by an audible voice from the mercy-seat between the cherubims. See *Prideau's Connect.* at the year 534. This oracle had been silent, as *Josephus* here informs us, two hundred years before he wrote his *Antiquities*, or ever since the days of the last good high-priest of the Maccabees, *John Hyrcanus*. Now, it is here very well worth our observation, that the oracle before us was that by which God appeared to be present with, and gave directions to his people Israel as their king, all the while they submitted to him in that capacity; and did not set over them such independent kings as governed according to their own will and political maxims, instead of divine directions. Accordingly, we meet with this oracle, (besides angelic and prophetic admonitions,) all along from the days of *Moses* and *Joshua* to the anointing of *Saul*, the first of the succession of kings, *Numb.* xxvii. 21. *Jos.* vi. 6. &c. xix. 50. *Judges* i. 1. xviii. 4, 5, 6. 30, 31. xx. 18. 23. 26, 27, 28. xxi. 1, &c. 1 *Sam.* 17, 18. iii. *per tot.* iv. *per tot.* nay, till *Saul's* rejection of the divine commands in the war with *Amalek*, when he took upon him to act as he thought fit, 1 *Sam.* xiv. 3. 18, 19. 36, 37. then this oracle left *Saul* entirely, (which indeed he had seldom consulted before, 1 *Sam.* xiv. 35. 1 *Chron.* x. 14. xiii. 3. *Antiquities*, B. vii. ch. iv. § 2.) and accompanied *David*, who was anointed to succeed him, and who consulted God by it frequently, and complied with its directions constantly, 1 *Sam.* xiv. 37. 41. xv. 26. xxii. 13. 15. xxiii. 9, 10. xxx. 7, 8. 18. 2 *Sam.* ii. 1, v. 19. 23. xxi. 1. xxiii. 14. 1 *Chron.* xix. 10. 14. *Antiq. B.* vi. c. xii. § 5. *Saul*, indeed, long after his rejection by God, and when God had given him up to destruction for his disobedience, did once afterwards endeavour to consult God when it was too late; but God would not then answer him, neither by *dreams*, nor by *urim*, nor by *prophets*, 1 *Sam.* xxviii. 6. Nor did any of *David's* successors, the kings

before, the high-priest bare on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes, (and I think it needless to describe their nature,

of Judah, that we know of, consult God by this oracle, till the very Babylonish captivity itself, when those kings were at an end, they taking upon them, I suppose, too much of despotic power and royalty, and too little owning the God of Israel for the supreme King of Israel, though a few of them consulted the prophets sometimes, and were answered by them. At the return of the two tribes, without the return of kingly government, the restoration of this oracle was expected, Neh. vii. 63. 1 Esd. v. 40. 1 Macc. iv. 46. xiv. 11. And indeed it may seem to have been restored for some time after the Babylonish captivity, at least in the days of that excellent high-priest John Hyrcanus, whom Josephus esteemed as a king, a priest, and a prophet; and who, he says, foretold several things that came to pass accordingly: but about the time of his death here implies, that this oracle ceased quite, and not before. The following high-priests now putting diadems on their heads, and ruling according to their own will, and by their own authority, like the other kings of the Pagan countries about them; so that while the God of Israel was allowed to be the supreme King of Israel, and his directions to be their authentic guides, God gave them such directions, as their supreme King and Governor; and they were properly under a theocracy, by this oracle of Urim, but no longer, (see Dr. Bernard's notes here,) though I confess I cannot but esteem the high-priest Jaddus's divine dream, Antiquities, B. xi. ch. viii. § 4. and the high-priest Caiaphas's most remarkable prophecy, John xi. 47. 51. as two small remains or specimens of this ancient oracle, which properly belonged to the Jewish high-priest: nor perhaps ought we entirely to forget that eminent prophetic dream of our Josephus himself, (one next to an high-priest, as of the family of the Asmonæans or Maccabees,) as to the succession of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire, and that in the days of Nero, and before either Galba, Otho, or Vitellius, were thought of to succeed him. Of the war, B. iii. ch. viii. § 9. vol. v. This, I think, may well be looked upon as the very last instance of any thing like the prophetic *Urim* among the Jewish nation, and just preceded their fatal desolation: but how it could possibly come to pass, that such great men as Sir John Marsham and Dr. Spenser, should imagine that this oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*, with other practices as old or older than the law of Moses, should have been ordained in imitation of somewhat like them among the Egyptians, which we never heard of till the days of Diodorus Siculus, Ælian, and Maimonides, or little earlier than the christian era at the highest, is almost unaccountable; while the main business of the law of Moses was evidently to preserve the Israelites from the idolatrous and superstitious practices of the neighbouring Pagan nations; and while it is so undeniable, that the evidence for the great antiquity of the law of Moses is incomparably beyond that for the like or greater antiquity of such customs in Egypt, or other nations, which indeed is generally none at all, it is most absurd to derive any of Moses's laws from the imitation of those heathen practices. Such hypothesis demonstrate to us how far inclination can prevail over evidence, in even some of the most learned part of mankind.

they being known to every body;) the one of them shined out when God was present at their sacrifices, I mean that which was in the nature of a button on his right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by those that were most remote; which splendour yet was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as have not so far indulged themselves in philosophy, as to despise divine revelation. Yet will I mention what is still more wonderful than this: for God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high-priest bare on his breast, and which were inserted into his breast-plate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance. Whence it came to pass that those Greeks, who had a veneration for our laws, because they could not possibly contradict this, called their breast-plate the *Oracle*. Now this breast-plate, and this sardonyx, left off shining two hundred years before I composed this book, God having been displeased at the transgression of his laws. Of which things we shall further discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

10. The tabernacle being now consecrated, and a regular order being settled for the priests, the multitude judged that God now dwelt among them, and betook themselves to sacrifices, and praises to God, as being now delivered from all expectation of evils, and as entertaining an hopeful prospect of better times hereafter. They offered also gifts to God, some as common to the whole nation, and others as peculiar to themselves, and these tribe by tribe; for the heads of the tribes combined together, two by two, and brought a wagon and a yoke of oxen. These amounted to six, and they carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides which, every head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger, and a spoon of ten darics, full of incense. Now the charger and the bowl were of silver; and together they weighed two hundred shekels, but the bowl cost no more than seventy shekels; and these were full of fine flour mingled with oil, such as they used on the altar about the sacrifices. They brought also a young bullock, and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering; as also a goat, for the forgiveness of sins. Every one of the heads of the tribes brought also other sacrifices, called *Peace-offerings*, for every

day two bulls, and five rams, with lambs of a year old, and kids of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrificing, one sacrificing every day. Now Moses went no longer up to mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what had been devised by human understanding, and proved to be firmly observed for all time to come, as being believed to be the gift of God: insomuch, that the Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws, either as tempted in times of peace by luxury, or in times of war by distress of affairs. But I say no more here concerning them, because I have resolved to compose another work concerning our laws.

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CHAP. IX.

The nature of our offering sacrifices.

§ 1. I will now, however, make mention of a few of our laws, which belong to purifications, and the like sacred offices, since I am accidentally come to this matter of sacrifices. These sacrifices were of two sorts: of those sorts one was offered for private persons, and the other for the people in general; and they are done in two different ways: in the one case what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it: but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter of the first year, though of bulls he is permitted to sacrifice those of a greater age; but all burnt-offerings are to be of males. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar; they then cleanse the bodies, and divide them into parts, and salt them with salt, and lay them upon the altar, while the pieces of wood are piled one upon another, and the fire is burning: they next cleanse the feet of the sacrifices, and the inwards, in an accurate manner, and so lay them to the rest to be purged by the fire, while the priests receive the hides. This is the way of offering a burnt-offering.

2. But those that offer thank-offerings, do indeed sacrifice the same creatures, but such as are unblemished, and above a year old; however, they may take either males or females.

They also sprinkle the altar with their blood ; but they lay upon the altar the kidneys, and the caul, and all the fat, and the lobe of the liver, together with the rump of the lamb ; then giving the breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days ; and what remains they burn.

3. The sacrifices for sins are offered in the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those who are unable to purchase complete sacrifices, offer two pigeons, or turtle-doves ; the one of which is made a burnt-offering to God, the other they give as food for the priests. But we shall treat more accurately about the oblation of these creatures in our discourse concerning sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers an ewe lamb, or female kid of the goats, after the same age ; and the priests sprinkle the blood at the altar, not after the former manner, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys, and the rest of the fat, together with the lobe of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bear away the hides and the flesh, and spend it in the holy place * on the same day ; for the law does not permit them to leave off until the morning. But if any one sin, and is conscious of it himself, but hath nobody that can prove it upon him, he offers a ram, the law enjoining him so to do ; the flesh of which the priests eat, as before, in the holy place on the same day. And if the rulers offer sacrifices for their sins, they bring the same oblations that private men do ; only they so far differ, that they are to bring for sacrifices a bull, or a kid of the goats, both males.

4. Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought ; for a lamb the measure of one tenth deal ; for a ram two ; and for a bull three. This they consecrate on the altar, when it is mingled with oil ; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice ; for a bull the half of an hin, and for a ram a third part of the same mea-

* What Reland well observes here, out of Josephus, as compared with the law of Moses, Levit. vii. 15. (that the eating of the sacrifice the *same day* it was offered, seems to mean only before the morning of the next, although the latter part, i. e. the night, be in strictness part of the *next day*, according to the Jewish reckoning,) is greatly to be observed upon other occasions also. The Jewish maxim, in such cases, it seems, is this, that *the day goes before the night* ; and this appears to me to be the language both of the old and new testament. See also the note on Antiq. B. iv. ch. iv. § 4. and Reland's note on B. iv. ch. viii. § 28.

sure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This hin is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian choas or [conguises.] They bring the same quantity of oil which they do of wine, and they pour the wine about the altar; but if any one does not offer a complete sacrifice of animals, but brings fine flour only for a vow, he throws an handful upon the altar as its first fruits, while the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled or mingled with oil, but made into cakes of bread. But whatsoever it be that a priest himself offers, it must of necessity be all burnt. Now the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time with its dam; and in other cases not till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices there are also appointed for escaping distempers, or for other occasions, in which meat-offerings are consumed, together with the animals that are sacrificed; of which it is not lawful to leave any part till the next day, only the priests are to take their own share.

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CHAP. X.

Concerning the Festivals; and how each day of such festival is to be observed.

§ 1. THE law requires, that out of the public expenses a lamb of the first year, killed every day, at the beginning and at the ending of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the *Sabbath*, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same manner. At the new moon, they both perform the daily sacrifices, and slay two bulls, with seven lambs of the first year, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins; that is, if they have sinned through ignorance.

2. But on the seventh month, which the Macedonians call *Hyperberetaeus*, they make an addition to those already mentioned, and sacrifice a bull, a ram, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins.

3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month, they fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins. And besides these, they bring two kids of the goats; the one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness for the scape goat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude; but the other is brought into a place of great cleanness, within the limits of the camp, and is there burnt, with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this

goat was burnt a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high-priest, at his own charges ; which, when it was slain, he brought of the blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkled the ceiling with his finger seven times, as also its pavement, and again as often toward the [most] holy place, and about the golden altar: he also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the extremities, and the kidneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar. The high-priest likewise presents a ram to God as a burnt-offering.

4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoins us to pitch tabernacles in every one of our houses, so that we preserve ourselves from the cold of that time of the year: as also, that when we shall arrive at our own country, and come to that city that we should have then for our metropolis, because of the temple therein to be built, and keep a festival for eight days, and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice thank-offerings, that we should then carry in our hands a branch of myrtle, and willow, and a bough of the palm-tree, with the addition of the pomecitron. That the burnt-offering on the first of those days was to be a sacrifice of thirteen bulls, and fourteen lambs, and fifteen rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats, as an expiation for sins: and on the following days the same number of lambs, and of rams, with the kids of the goats ; but abating one of the bulls every day, till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, with a kid of the goats, for an expiation of sins. And this is the accustomed solemnity of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

5. In the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called Nisan, and is the beginning of our year, in the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries, (for on this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians,) the law ordained that we should every year slay that sacrifice which I before told you we slew when we came out of Egypt, and which we called the *Passover*: and so do we celebrate this passover in companies, leaving nothing of what we sacrifice till the day following. The feast of unleavened bread succeeds that of the passover, and falls

on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days, wherein they feed on unleavened bread; on every one of which days two bulls are killed, and one ram, and seven lambs. Now these lambs are entirely burnt, besides the kid of the goats, which is added to all the rest, for sins; for it is intended as a feast for the priest on every one of those days. But on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month, they first partake of the fruits of the earth, for before that day they do not touch them. And while they suppose it proper to honour God, from whom they obtain this plentiful provision, in the first place, they offer the first fruits of their barley, and that in the manner following. They take an handful of the ears, and dry them, then beat them small, and purge the barley from the bran; they then bring one tenth deal to the altar, to God; and casting one handful of it upon the fire, they leave the rest for the use of the priests. And after this it is that they may publicly or privately reap their harvest. They also, at this participation of the fruits of the earth, sacrifice a lamb as a burnt-offering to God.

6. When a week of weeks has passed over after this sacrifice, (which weeks contain forty-nine days,) on the fifteenth day, which is Pentecost, but is called by the Hebrews Asartha, which signifies Pentecost, they bring to God a loaf, made of wheat flour, of two tenth deals, with leaven; and for sacrifices they bring two lambs; and when they have only presented them to God, they are made ready for supper for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave any thing of them till the day following. They also slay three bullocks for a burnt-offering, and two rams; and fourteen lambs, with two kids of the goats for sins; nor is there any one of the festivals but in it they offer burnt-offerings; they also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. Accordingly, the law prescribes in them all what kinds they are to sacrifice; and how they are to rest entirely, and must slay sacrifices, in order to feast upon them.

7. However, out of the common charges baked bread [was set on the table of shew-bread,] without leaven, of twenty-four tenth deals of flour, for so much is spent upon this bread: two heaps of these were baked; they were taken the day before the Sabbath, but were brought into the holy place on the morning of the Sabbath, and set upon the holy table, six on an heap, one loaf still standing over against

another; where two golden cups full of frankincense were also set upon them, and there they remained till another Sabbath, and then other loaves were brought in their stead, while the loaves were given to the priests for their food, and the frankincense was burnt in that sacred fire wherein all their offerings were burnt also; and so other frankincense was set upon the loaves instead of what was there before. The [high] priest also, of his own charges, offered a sacrifice, and that twice every day. It was made of flour, mingled with oil, and gently baked by the fire; the quantity was one tenth deal of flour: he brought the half of it to the fire in the morning, and the other half at night. The account of these sacrifices I shall give more accurately hereafter; but I think I have premised what for the present may be sufficient concerning them.

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CHAP. XI.

Of the purifications.

§ 1. MOSES took out the tribe of Levi from communicating with the rest of the people, and set them apart to be an holy tribe; and purified them by water, taken from perpetual springs, and with such sacrifices as were usually offered to God on the like occasions. He delivered to them also the tabernacle, and the sacred vessels, and the other curtains which were made for covering the tabernacle, that they might minister under the conduct of the priests, who had already been consecrated to God.

2. He also determined concerning animals; which of them might be used for food, and which they were obliged to abstain from: which matters, when this work shall give me occasion, shall be farther explained; and the causes shall be added, by which he was moved to allot some of them to be our food, and enjoined us to abstain from others. However, he entirely forbade us the use of blood for food, and esteemed it to contain the soul and spirit. He also forbade us to eat the flesh of an animal that died of itself; as also the caul, and the fat of goats, and sheep, and bulls.

3. He also ordered, that those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy, and that had a gonorrhoea, should not come

into the * city: nay, he removed the women when they had their natural purgations, till the seventh day; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those also who have taken care of funerals to come in after the same manner, when this number of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law appointed the offering of two lambs for a sacrifice; the one of which they are to purge by the fire, and for the other the priests take it for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifice who have had the gonorrhoea. But he that sheds his seed in his sleep, if he goes down into cold water, he has the same privilege with those that have lawfully accompanied with their wives. And for the lepers, he suffered them not to come into the city at all, nor to live with any others, as if they were in effect dead persons; but if any one had obtained, by prayer to God, the recovery from that distemper, and had gained a healthful complexion again, such an one returned thanks to God, with several sorts of sacrifices: concerning which we will speak hereafter.

4. Whence one cannot but smile at those who say, that Moses was himself afflicted with leprosy, when he fled out of Egypt; and that he became the conductor of those who on that account left that country, and led them into the land of Canaan: for had this been true, Moses would not have made these laws to his own dishonour, which indeed it was more likely he would have opposed, if others had endeavoured to introduce them; and this the rather, because there are lepers in many nations, who yet are in honour, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in the commonwealth; and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples: so that nothing hindered, but if either Moses himself, or the multitude that was with him, had been liable to such a misfortune, in the colour of his skin, he might have made laws about them for their credit and advantage, and have laid no manner of difficulty upon them. Accordingly, it is a plain case, that it is out of violent prejudice only that they report

* We may here note, that Josephus frequently calls the camp the *City*, and the court of the Mosaic tabernacle a *Temple*, and the tabernacle itself an *Holy House*, with allusion to the latter city, temple, and holy house, which he knew so well afterwards.

these things about us. But Moses was pure from any such distemper; and lived with countrymen who were pure of it also, and thence made the laws which concerned others that had the distemper. He did this for the honour of God. But as to these matters, let every one consider them after what manner he pleases.

5. As to the women, when they have born a child, Moses forbade them to come into the temple, or touch the sacrifices, before forty days were over, supposing it to be a boy; but if she hath born a girl, the law is that she cannot be admitted before twice that number of days be over. And when after the before-mentioned time appointed for them, they perform their sacrifices, the priests distribute them before God.

6. But if any one suspect that his wife has been guilty of adultery, he was to bring a tenth deal of barley flour: they then cast one handful to God, and gave the rest of it to the priests for food. One of the priests set the woman at the gates that are turned towards the temple, and took the vail from her head, and wrote the name of God in parchment, and enjoined her to swear that she had not at all injured her husband; and to wish that if she had violated her chastity, her right thigh might be put out of joint, that her belly might swell, and that she might die thus: but that if her husband, by the violence of his affection, and of the jealousy which arose from it, had been rashly moved to this suspicion, that she might bear a male child on the tenth month. Now when these oaths were over, the priest wiped the name of God out of the parchment, and wrung the water into a vial. He also took some dust out of the temple, if any happened to be there, and put a little of it into a vial, and gave it her to drink; whereon the woman, if she were unjustly accused, conceived with child, and brought it to perfection in her womb: but if she had broken her faith of wedlock to her husband, and had sworn falsely before God, she died in a reproachful manner; her thigh fell off from her, and her belly swelled with a dropsy. And these are the ceremonies about sacrifices, and about the purifications thereto belonging, which Moses provided for his countrymen. He also prescribed the following laws to them.

CHAP. XII.

Several Laws.

§ 1. As for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, as esteeming it an happy thing that men should be wise in the affairs of wedlock ; and that it was profitable both to cities and families, that children should be known to be genuine. He also abhorred men's lying with their mothers, as one of the greatest crimes ; and the like for lying with their father's wife, and with aunts, and sisters, and sons' wives, as all instances of abominable wickedness. He also forbade a man to lie with a wife when she was defiled by her natural purgation ; and not to come near brute beasts, nor to approve of the lying with a male, which was to hunt after unlawful pleasures on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such insolent behaviour, he ordained death for their punishment.

2. As for the priests, he prescribed to them * a double degree of purity ; for he restrained them in the instances above, and, moreover, forbade them to marry harlots. He also forbade them to marry a slave, or a captive, and such as got their living by cheating trades, and by keeping inns : as also a woman parted from her husband on any occasion whatsoever. Nay, he did not think it proper for the high-priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he allowed that to the priests, but he permitted him only to marry a virgin, and to retain her. Whence it is that the high-priest is not to come near to one that is dead, though the rest are not prohibited from coming near to their brethren, or parents, or children, when they are dead, but they are to be unblemished in all respects. He ordered that the priests, who had any blemish, should have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbade him to ascend the altar, or to enter into the holy house. He also enjoined them not only to observe purity in their sacred ministrations, but in their daily conversation, that it might be unblameable also.

* These words of Josephus's are remarkable, that the lawgiver of the Jews required of the *priests a double degree of purity*, in comparison of that required of the *people* ; of which he gives several instances immediately. It was, for certain, the case also among the first christians, of the *clergy*, in comparison of the *laity*, as the apostolical constitutions and canons every where inform us.

And on this account it is, that those who wear the sacerdotal garments are without spot, and eminent for their purity and sobriety : nor are they permitted to drink wine so long as they wear * those garments. Moreover, they offer sacrifices that are entire, and have no defect whatsoever.

3. And truly Moses gave them all these precepts, being such as were observed during his own lifetime. But though he lived now in the wilderness, yet did he make provision how they might observe the same laws when they should have taken the land of Canaan : he gave them rest to the land from ploughing and planting every seventh year, as he had prescribed to them to rest from working every seventh day ; and ordered, that when that grew of its own accord out of the earth, should in common belong to all that pleased to use it, making no distinction in that respect between their own countrymen and foreigners : and he ordained, that they should do the same after seven times seven years, which in all are fifty years : and that fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews the Jubilee, wherein debtors are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty ; which slaves became such, though they were of the same stock, by transgressing some of those laws whose punishment was not capital ; but they were punished by this method of slavery. This year also restores the land to its former possessors in the manner following : when the Jubilee is come, which name denotes liberty, he that sold the land, and he that bought it, meet together, and make an estimate, on one hand, of the fruits gathered, and on the other hand, of the expenses laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered come to more than the expenses laid out, he that sold it takes the land again ; but if the expenses prove more than the fruits, the present possessor receives of the former owner the difference that was wanting, and leaves the land to him ; and if the fruits received, and the expenses laid out, prove equal to one another, the present possessor relinquishes it to the former owners. Moses would have the same law obtain as to those houses also which were sold in villages ; but he

* We must here note with Reland. that the precept given to the priest not drinking wine, while they wore the sacred garments, is equivalent to their abstinence from it all the while they ministered in the temple, because they then always, and then only, wore those sacred garments, which were laid up there from one time of ministration to another.

made a different law for such as were sold in a city : for if he that sold it tendered the purchaser his money again within a year, he was forced to restore it ; but if a whole year intervened, the purchaser was to enjoy what he had bought. This was the constitution of the laws which Moses learned of God, when the camp lay under mount Sinai ; and this he delivered in writing to the Hebrews.

4. Now when this settlement of laws seemed to be well over, Moses thought fit at length to take a review of the host, as thinking it proper to settle the affairs of war. So he charged the heads of the tribes, excepting the tribe of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war ; for as to the Levites, they were holy, and free from all such burdens. Now when the people had been numbered, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war, from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses took Manasseh, the son of Joseph, among the heads of tribes ; and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was indeed the desire of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give him his sons to be his own by adoption, as I have before related.

5. When they set up the tabernacle, they received it into the midst of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it, and roads were cut through the midst of these tents. It was like a well-appointed market ; and every thing was there ready for sale in due order ; and all sorts of artificers were in the shops ; and it resembled nothing so much as a city that sometimes was moveable, and sometimes fixed. The priests had the first places about the tabernacle ; then the Levites, who, because their whole multitude was reckoned from thirty days old, were twenty-three thousand eight hundred and eighty males. And during the time that the cloud stood over the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the same place, as supposing that God there inhabited among them ; but when that removed, they journeyed also.

6. Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet that was made of silver. Its description is this : in length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with so much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth ; it ended in the form of a bell, like com-

mon trumpets. Its sound was called in the Hebrew tongue *Asosra*. Two of these being made, one of them was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregations. When the first of them gave a signal, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and consult about the affairs to them properly belonging ; but when they gave the signal by both of them, they called the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in this solemn order : at the first alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to remove ; when the second signal was given, those that were on the south quarter did the like ; in the next place, the tabernacle was taken to pieces, and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before, and of six that followed, all the Levites assisting about the tabernacle ; when the third signal was given, that part which had their tents towards the west put themselves into motion ; and at the fourth signal, those on the north did so likewise. They also made use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar, as well on the Sabbath as on the rest of the [festival] days. And now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice, which was called the *Passover* in the wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

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CHAP. XIII.

How Moses removed from Mount Sinai, and conducted the people to the borders of the Canaanites.

¶ 1. A LITTLE while afterwards he rose up, and went from mount Sinai ; and having passed through several mansions, of which we will speak anon, he came to a place called *Hazereth*, where the multitude began again to be mutinous, and blame Moses for the misfortunes they had suffered in their travels ; and that when he had persuaded them to leave a good land, they at once had lost that land, and instead of that happy state he had promised them, they were still wandering in their present miserable condition, being already in want of water ; and if the manna should happen to fail, they must then utterly perish. Yet, while they generally spake many and sore things against the man, there was one of them who exhorted them not to be unmindful of

Moses, and of what great pains he had been at about their common safety; and not to despair of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and more mutinous against Moses than before. Hereupon Moses, although he were so basely abused by them, encouraged them in their despairing condition, and promised that he would procure them a great quantity of flesh meat, and that not for a few days only, but for many days. This they were not willing to believe: and when one of them asked, whence he could obtain such vast plenty of what he promised? He replied, neither God nor I, although we hear such opprobrious words from you, will leave off our labours for you; and this shall soon appear also. As soon as ever he had said this, the whole camp was filled with quails, and they stood round about them, and gathered them in great numbers. However, it was not long ere God punished the Hebrews for their insolence, and those reproaches they had used towards him, for no small number of them died. And still to this day the place retains the memory of this destruction, and is named *kibroth hattaavah*, which is, *the graves of lust*.

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CHAP. XIV.

How Moses sent some persons to search out the land of the Canaanites, and the largeness of their cities: and further, that when those who were sent were returned, after forty days, and reported that they should not be a match for them, and extolled the strength of the Canaanites, the multitude were disturbed, and fell into despair, and were resolved to stone Moses, and to return back again into Egypt, and serve the Egyptians.

¶ 1. WHEN Moses had led the Hebrews away from thence to a place called *Paran*, which was near to the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to be continued in, he gathered the multitude together to a congregation; and standing in the midst of them, he said, "Of the two things that God determined to bestow upon us, liberty, and the possession of an happy country, the one of them ye already are partakers of, by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain; for we now have our abode near the borders of the Canaanites, and nothing can hinder the

acquisition of it, when we now at last are fallen upon it: I say, not only no king, nor city, but neither the whole race of mankind, if they were all gathered together, could do it. Let us, therefore, prepare ourselves for the work, for the Canaanites will not resign up their land to us without fighting, but it must be wrested from them by great struggles in war. Let us then send spies, who may take a view of the goodness of the land, and what strength it is of. But above all things, let us be of one mind; and let us honour God, who above all is our helper and assister."

2. When Moses had said thus, the multitude requited him with marks of respect: and chose twelve spies, of the most eminent men, one out of each tribe, who passing over all the land of Canaan, from the borders of Egypt, came to the city Hamath, and to mount Lebanon; and having learned the nature of the land, and of its inhabitants, they came home, having spent forty days in the whole work. They also brought with them of the fruits which the land bare: they also showed them the excellency of those fruits, and gave an account of the great quantity of the good things that land afforded, which were motives to the multitude to go to war. But then they terrified them again with the great difficulty there was in obtaining it; that the rivers were so large and deep, that they could not be passed over; and that the hills were so high that they could not travel along for them; that the cities were strong with walls, and their firm fortifications round about them. They told them also, that they found at Hebron the posterity of the giants. Accordingly, these spies, who had seen the land of Canaan, when they perceived that all these difficulties were greater there than they had met with since they came out of Egypt, they were affrighted at them themselves, and endeavoured to affright the multitude also.

3. So they supposed, from what they had heard, that it was impossible to get the possession of the country. And when the congregation was dissolved, they, their wives, and children, continued their lamentation, as if God would not indeed assist them, but only promised them fair. They also again blamed Moses, and made a clamour against him, and his brother Aaron the high-priest. Accordingly, they passed that night very ill, and with contumelious language against them; but in the morning they ran to a congrega-

tion, intending to stone Moses and Aaron, and so to return into Egypt.

4. But of the spies, there were Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, that were afraid of the consequence, and came into the midst of them, and stilled the multitude, and desired them to be of good courage; and neither to condemn God, as having told them lies; neither to hearken to those who had affrighted them, by telling them what was not true concerning the Canaanites, but to those that encouraged them to hope for good success; and that they should gain possession of the happiness promised them, because neither the height of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, could hinder men of true courage from attempting them, especially while God would take care of them beforehand, and be assistant to them. Let us then go, said they, against our enemies, and have no suspicion of ill success, trusting in God to conduct us, and following those that are to be our leaders. Thus did these two exhort them, and endeavour to pacify the rage they were in. But Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own deliverance, but that he would put a stop to what the people were unwarily doing, and would bring their minds to a quiet temper, which were now disordered by their present passion. The cloud also did now appear and stood over the tabernacle, and declared to them the presence of God to be there.

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CHAP. XV.

How Moses was displeased at this; and foretold, that God was angry, and that they should continue in the wilderness for forty years, and not [during that time] either return into Egypt, or take possession of Canaan.

§ 1. MOSES came now boldly to the multitude, and informed them, that God was moved at their abuse of him, and would inflict punishment upon them, not indeed such as they deserved for their sins, but such as parents inflict on their children, in order to their correction: for, he said, that when he was in the tabernacle, and was bewailing with tears that destruction which was coming upon them, God put him in mind what things he had done for them, and what benefits they had received from him, and yet how ungrateful they

had been to him : that just now they had been induced by the timorousness of the spies to think that their words were truer than his own promise to them ; and that, on this account, though he would not indeed destroy them all, nor utterly exterminate their nation, which he had honoured more than any other part of mankind, yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its happiness, but would make them wander in the wilderness, and live without a fixed habitation, and without a city, for forty years together, as a punishment for this their transgression ; but that he hath promised to give that land to our children, and that he would make them the possessors of those good things, which by your ungoverned passions, you have deprived yourselves of.

2. When Moses had discoursed thus to them, according to the direction of God, the multitude grieved, and were in affliction ; and entreated Moses to procure their reconciliation to God, and to permit them no longer to wander in the wilderness, but to bestow cities upon them. But he replied, that God would not admit of any such trial, for that God was not moved to this determination from any human levity or anger, but that he had judiciously condemned them to that punishment. Now we are not to disbelieve that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness of temper ; for God was with him, and prepared the way to his persuasions of the multitude ; and as they had often been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them, and that they had still thereby fallen into calamities.

3. But this man was admirable for his virtue, and powerful in making men give credit to what he delivered, not only during the time of his natural life, but even there is still no one of the Hebrews, who does not act even now as if Moses were present, and ready to punish him, if he should do any thing that is indecent ; nay, there is no one but is obedient to what laws he ordained, although they might be concealed in their transgressions. There are also many other demonstrations that his power was more than human ; for still some there have been who have come from the parts beyond Euphrates, a journey of four months, through many dangers, and at great expenses, in honour of our temple ; and yet when they had offered their oblations, could not partake of

their own sacrifices, because Moses had forbidden it, by somewhat in the law they did not permit them, or somewhat that had befallen them, which our ancient customs made inconsistent therewith: some of these did not sacrifice at all, and others left their sacrifices in an imperfect condition; nay, many who were not able even at first so much as to enter into the temple, but went their ways in this state, as preferring a submission to the laws of Moses, before the fulfilling of their own inclinations, even when they had no fear upon them that any body could convict them, but only out of a reverence to their own conscience. Thus this legislator, which appeared to be divine, made this man to be esteemed as one superior to his own human nature. Nay, farther, a little before the beginning of this war, when Claudius was emperor of the Romans, and Ishmael was our high-priest, and when so great a * famine was come upon us, that one tenth deal [of wheat] was sold for four drachmae, and when no less than seventy cori of flour was brought into the temple, at the feast of unleavened bread, (these cori are thirty-one Sicilian, but forty-one Athenian medimni,) not one of the priests were so hardy as to eat one crumb of it, even while so great a distress was on the land; and this out of a dread of the law, and of that wrath which God retains against acts of wickedness, even when no one can accuse the actors. Whence we are not to wonder at what was then done, while to this very day the writings left by Moses have so great a force, that even those that hate us do confess, that he who established this settlement was God, and that it was by the means of Moses, and of his virtue: but as to these matters, let every one take them as he thinks fit.

* This great famine in the days of Claudius, is again mentioned in Antiq. B. xx. ch. ii. § 6, and Acts, xi. 28.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF 38 YEARS.

[From the rejection of that generation to the death of Moses.]

CHAP. I.

The fight of the Hebrews with the Canaanites, without the consent of Moses, and their defeat.

§ 1. Now this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, and they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with the Canaanites, yet could they not be persuaded to be obedient to the words of Moses, and to be quiet; but supposing they should be able to beat their enemies, even without his approbation, they accused him, and suspected that he made it his business to keep them in a distressed condition, that they might always stand in need of his assistance. Accordingly, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, and said, that God gave them his assistance, not out of regard to Moses's intercessions, but because he took care of their entire nation, on account of their forefathers, whose affairs he took under his own conduct; as also, that it was on account of their own virtue that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were willing to take pains for it. They also said, that they were of themselves of abilities sufficient for the conquest of their enemies, although Moses should have a mind to alienate God from them: that, however, it was for their advantage to be their own masters, and not so far to rejoice in their deliverance from the indignities they endured under the Egyptians, as to bear the tyranny of Moses over them, and to suffer themselves to be deluded, and live according to his pleasure, as though God did not foretell what concerns us out of his kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham, that God made him alone the author of all the knowledge we have, and we must still learn it from him: that it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretences, and to put their confidence in God, and to resolve to take possession of that land which he had

promised them, and not to give ear to him, who on this account, and under the pretence of divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering, therefore, the distressed state they were in at present, and that in those desert places they were still to expect things would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God, their supreme commander, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

2. When, therefore, they had come to this resolution, as being best for them, they went among their enemies; but those enemies were not dismayed either at the attack itself, or at the great multitude that made it; and received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were slain; and the remainder of the army, upon the disorder of their troops, were pursued, and fled, after a shameful manner, to their camp. Whereupon this unexpected misfortune made them quite despond; and they hoped for nothing that was good, as gathering from it, that this affliction came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation.

3. But when Moses saw how deeply they were affected with this defeat, and being afraid lest the enemies should grow insolent upon this victory, and should be desirous of gaining still greater glory, and should attack them; resolved that it was proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness to a farther distance from the Canaanites: so the multitude gave themselves up again to his conduct, for they were sensible, that without his care for them their affairs could not be in a good condition: and he caused the host to remove, and went farther into the wilderness, as intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should afford them a more favourable opportunity.

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CHAP. II.

The sedition of Corah, and of the multitude, against Moses, and against his brother, concerning the priesthood.

§ 1. THAT which is usually the case with great armies, and especially upon ill success, to be hard to be pleased, and governed with difficulty, did now befall the Jews, for they being in number six hundred thousand, and by reason of

their great multitude not readily subject to their governors, even in prosperity, they at this time were more than usually angry, both against one another, and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the calamities they then endured. Such a sedition overtook them, as we have not the like example either among the Greeks or the barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed, but were, notwithstanding, saved by Moses, who would not remember that he had been almost stoned to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin; but, notwithstanding the indignities they had offered to their legislator, and the laws, and [their disobedience to] the commandments which he had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities, which without his providential care had been brought upon them by this sedition. So I will first explain the cause whence this sedition arose, and then will give an account of the sedition itself; as also of what settlements Moses made for their government, after it was over.

2. Corah, an Hebrew of principal account, both by his family and by his wealth, one that was also able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was in exceeding great dignity, and was uneasy at it, and envied him on that account, (he was of the same tribe with Moses, and of kin to him,) was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honourable post on account of his great riches, and not inferior to him in his birth. So he raised a clamour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and especially among his kindred, saying, "That it was a very sad thing that they should overlook Moses, while he hunted after, and paved the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts should obtain it, under the pretence of God's command, while contrary to the laws, he had given the priesthood to Aaron, not by the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in a tyrannical way on whom he pleased. He added, that this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne, than if it had been done by an open force upon them; because he did now not only take away their power without their consent, but even while they were unapprized of his contrivances against them; for whosoever is conscious to himself that he deserves any dignity, aims to get it by

persuasion, and not by an arrogant method of violence; but those that believe it impossible to obtain those honours justly, they make a show of goodness, and do not introduce force, but by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful: that it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they think themselves concealed in their designs, and not suffer them to gain strength, till they have them for their open enemies. For what account, added he, is Moses able to give why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron, and his sons? for if God had determined to bestow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is, I myself being equal to Moses by my family, and superior to him both in riches and in age: but if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest tribe, that of Reubel might have it most justly; and then Dathan, and Abiram, and [On the son of] Peleth, would have it, for these are the oldest men of that tribe, and potent on account of their great wealth also."

3. Now Corah, when he had said this, had a mind to appear to take care of the public welfare, but in reality he was endeavouring to procure to have that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself. Thus did he, out of a malignant design, but with plausible words, discourse to those of his own tribe; and when these words did gradually spread to more of the people, and when the hearers still added to what tended to the scandals that were cast upon Aaron, the whole army was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah, there were two hundred and fifty, and those of the principal men also, who were eager to have the priesthood taken away from Moses's brother, and to bring him into disgrace: nay, the multitude themselves were provoked to be seditious, and attempted to stone Moses; and gathered themselves together after an indecent manner, with confusion and disorder. And now they all were, in a tumultuous manner, raising a clamour before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him, who, under colour of the divine commands, laid violent injunctions upon them; for that had it been God, who chose one that was to perform the office of a priest, he would have raised a worthy person to that dignity, and would not have produced such an one as was inferior to many others, nor have given him that office; and in that case he had judged it fit to bestow

it on Aaron, he would have permitted it to the multitude to bestow it, and not have left it to be bestowed by his own brother.

5. Now, although Moses had a great while ago foreseen this calumny of Corah's, and had seen that the people were irritated, yet was he not affrighted at it; and being of good courage, because he had given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favour to him, he came to the assembly; and, as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Corah as he could; and being very skilful in making speeches, and having this natural talent among others, that he could greatly move the multitude with his discourses, he said, "O Corah, both thou, and all these with thee, (pointing to the two hundred and fifty men,) seem to be worthy of this honour; nor do I pretend but that this whole company may be worthy of the like dignity, although they may not be so rich, or so great as you are: nor have I taken and given this office to my brother, because he excelled others in riches, for thou exceedest * us both in the greatness of thy wealth; nor indeed because he was of an eminent family, for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our families equal: nay, nor was it out of brotherly affection, which another might yet have justly done: for certainly, unless I had bestowed this honour out of regard to God, and to his laws, I had not passed by myself, and given it to another, as being nearer of kin to myself, than to my brother, and having a closer intimacy with myself than I have with him; for surely it would not be a wise thing for me to expose myself to the dangers of offending, and to bestow the happy employment on this account upon another. But I am above such base practices: nor would God have overlooked this matter, and seen himself thus despised, nor would he have suffered you to be ignorant of what you were to do, in order to please him; but he hath himself chosen one that is to perform that sacred office to him, and thereby freed us from that care. So that it was not a thing that I pretend to give, but only according to the determination of God; I therefore propose it still to be con-

* Reland here takes notice, that although our bibles say little or nothing of these riches of Corah, yet that both the Jews and Mohammedans, as well as Josephus, are full of it.

tended for by such as please to put in for it, only desiring that he who has been already preferred, and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He prefers your peace, and your living without sedition, to this honourable employment, although in truth it was with your approbation that he obtained it; for though God were the donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept of it with your good will; yet would it have been an instance of impiety not to have taken that honourable employment when he offered it; nay, it had been exceeding unreasonable, when God had thought fit any one should have it for all time to come, and had made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge again who it shall be whom he would have to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction of matters of religion; for it is absurd that Corah, who is ambitious of this honour, should deprive God of the power of giving it to whom he pleases. Put an end, therefore, to your sedition and disturbance on this account: and to-morrow morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood bring a censer from home, and come hither with incense and fire: and do thou, O Corah, leave the judgment to God, and await to see on which side he will give his determination upon this occasion, but do not thou make thyself greater than God. Do thou also come, that this contest about this honourable employment may receive determination. And I suppose we may admit Aaron without offence, to offer himself to this scrutiny, since he is of the same lineage with thyself, and has done nothing in his priesthood that can be liable to exception. Come ye, therefore, together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he whose sacrifice God shall accept, shall be ordained to the priesthood, and shall be clear of the present calumny on Aaron, as if I had granted him that favour because he was my brother."

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CHAP. III.

How those that stirred up this sedition were destroyed, according to the will of God; and how Aaron, Moses's brother, both he and his posterity, retained the priesthood.

§ 1. WHEN Moses had said this, the multitude left off the

turbulent behaviour they had indulged, and the suspicion they had of Moses, and commended what he had said, for those proposals were good, and were so esteemed of the people. At that time, therefore, they dissolved the assembly. But on the next day they came to the congregation, in order to be present at the sacrifice, and at the determination that was to be made between the candidates for the priesthood. Now this congregation proved a turbulent one, and the multitude where in great suspense in expectation of what was to be done; for some of them would have been pleased if Moses had been convicted of evil practices, but the wiser sort desired that they might be delivered from the present disorder and disturbance; for they were afraid, that if this sedition went on, the good order of their settlement would rather be destroyed; but the whole body of the people do naturally delight in clamours against their governors, and by changing their opinions upon the harangues of every speaker, disturb the public tranquillity. And now Moses sent messengers for Abiram and Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assembly, and wait there for the holy offices that were to be performed. But they answered the messenger, that they would not obey his summons; nay, would not overlook Moses's behaviour, who was growing too great for them by evil practices. Now when Moses heard of this their answer, he desired the heads of the people to follow him, and he went to the faction of Dathan, not thinking it any frightful thing at all to go to these insolent people: so they made no opposition, but went along with him. But Dathan and his associates, when they understood that Moses, and the principal of the people were coming to them, they came out with their wives and children, and stood before their tents, and looked to see what Moses would do. They had also their servants about them to defend themselves, in case Moses should use force against them.

2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude; and said, "O Lord of the creatures that are in the heaven, in the earth, and in the sea; for thou art the most authentic witness to what I have done, that it has been all done by thy appointment, that it was thou that affordedst us assistance when we attempted any thing, and shewedst mercy on the Hebrews in all their distress, do thou

come now, and hear all that I say, for no action or thought escapes thy knowledge ; so that thou wilt not disdain to speak what is true, for my vindication, without any regard to the ungrateful imputations of these men. As for what was done before I was born, thou knowest best, as not learning them by report, but seeing them and being present with them when they were done ; but, for what has been done of late, and which these men, although they know them well enough, unjustly pretend to suspect, be thou my witness. When I lived a private, quiet life, I left those good things, which by my own diligence, and by thy counsel, I enjoyed with Raguel my father-in-law, and I gave myself up to this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I also bore great labours, at first in order to obtain liberty for them, and now in order to their preservation ; and have always showed myself ready to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by those very men whose being is owing to my labours, come thou, as it is reasonable to hope thou wilt : thou, I say, who shewedst me that fire at mount Sinai, and madest me to hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded me : thou who commandest me to go to Egypt, and declare thy will to this people : thou who disturbedst the happy estate of the Egyptians, and gavest us the opportunity of flying away from our slavery under them, and madest the dominion of Pharaoh inferior to my dominion : thou who didst make the sea dry land for us, when we knew not whither to go, and didst overwhelm the Egyptians with those destructive waves which had been divided for us : thou who didst bestow upon us the security of weapons when we were naked : thou who didst make the fountains that were corrupted to flow so as to be fit for drinking, and didst furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when we were in the greatest want of it : thou who didst preserve our lives with [quails,] which was food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us : thou who didst send us such food from heaven, as had never been seen before : thou who didst suggest to us the knowledge of thy laws, and appoint us a form of government ; come thou, I say, O Lord of the whole world, and that as such a judge and a witness to me as cannot be bribed, and show how I have never admitted of any gift against justice from any of the Hebrews ; and have never condemned a poor

man that ought to have been acquitted, on account of one that was rich ; and have never attempted to hurt this commonwealth. I am now here present, and am suspected of a thing the remotest from my intentions, as if I had given the priesthood to Aaron not at thy command, but out of my own favour to him, do thou at this time demonstrate, that all things are administered by thy providence, and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by thy will, and thereby attains its end : as also demonstrate that thou takest care of those that have done good to the Hebrews ; demonstrate this, I say, by the punishment of Abiram and Dathan, who condemn thee as an insensible being, and one overcome by my contrivances. This wilt thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these men, who so madly fly in the face of thy glory, as will take them out of the world, not in an ordinary manner, but so that it may appear they do not die after the manner of other men, let that ground on which they tread upon, open about them, and consume them with their families and goods. This will be a demonstration of thy power to all men ; and this method of their sufferings will be an instruction of wisdom for those that entertain profane sentiments of thee. By this means I shall be found a good servant, in the precepts thou hast given by me. But if the calumnies they have raised against me be true, mayest thou preserve these men from every evil accident, and bring all that destruction upon me which I have imprecated upon them. And when thou hast inflicted punishment on those that have endeavoured to deal unjustly with this people, bestow upon them concord and peace. Save this multitude that follow thy commandments, and preserve them free from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment of those that have sinned : for thou knowest thyself, it is not just, that for the wickedness of those men, the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment."

3. When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground was moved on a sudden ; and the agitation that set it in motion was like that which the wind produces in waves of the sea. The people were all affrighted ; and the ground that was about their tents sunk down, at the great noise, that terrible sound, and carried whatsoever was dear to the sedition into itself, who so entirely perished, that there was not the least appearance that any men had ever been seen there,

the earth that had opened itself about them closing again, and becoming entire as it was before, insomuch, that such as saw it afterward did not perceive that any such accident had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and become a demonstration of the power of God. And truly, any one would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befell them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bare to them, and at the sight of this sad accident approved of the judgment given against them; and because they looked upon the people about Dathan as pestilent men, they thought they perished as such, and did not grieve for them.

3. And now Moses called for those that contended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God was most pleased with might be ordained to that function. There attended two hundred and fifty men, who indeed were honoured by the people, not only on account of the power of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in which they excelled the others; Aaron also and Corah came forth, and they all offered incense, in those censers of theirs which they brought with them before the tabernacle. Hereupon so great a fire shone out as no one ever saw in any that is made by the hand of man, neither in those eruptions out of the earth that are caused by subterraneous burnings, nor in such fires as arise of their own accord in the woods, when the agitation is caused by the trees rubbing one against another; but this fire was very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; by whose irruption on them, all the company, and Corah himself, were * destroyed, and this so entirely, that their very bodies left no remains behind them. Aaron alone was preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire to burn those only who ought to be burned. Hereupon Moses, after these men were destroyed, was desirous that the memory of this judgment might be delivered down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; and so he com-

* It appears here, and from the Samaritan Pentateuch, and in effect, from the P^{al}mist, as also from the Apostolical Constitutions, from Clement's first Epistle to the Corinthians, from Ignatius's Epistle to the Magnesians, and from Eusebius, that Corah was not swallowed up with the Reubenites, but burnt with the Levites, of his own tribe. See Essay on the Old Testament, p. 64, 65.

manded Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put their censers near the brazen altar; that they might be a memorial to posterity of what these men suffered, for supposing that the power of God might be eluded. And thus Aaron was no longer esteemed to have the priesthood by the favour of Moses, but by the public judgment of God: and thus he and his children peaceably enjoyed the honour afterward.

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CHAP. IV.

What happened to the Hebrews during thirty-eight years in the wilderness.

§ 1. HOWEVER, this sedition was so far from ceasing upon this destruction, that it grew much stronger, and became more intolerable. And the occasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time: for the men believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came thus to pass not without God's favour to Moses; they, therefore, laid the blame upon him, that God was angry, and that this happened not so much because of the wickedness of those that were punished, as because Moses procured the punishment; and that these men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the divine worship; as also that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people by destroying so many men, and those the most excellent of them all, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him; for no one else, to be sure, could now put in for it, since he must have seen those that first did so to have miserably perished. Nay, besides this, the kindred of those that were destroyed made great entreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

2. Now Moses, upon his hearing for a good while that the people were tumultuous, was afraid that they would attempt some other innovation, and that some great and sad calamity would be the consequence, he called the multitude to a congregation, and patiently heard what apology they made for themselves, without opposing them, and this last

he should embitter the multitude: he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their * rods, with the names of their tribes inscribed upon them, and that he should receive the priesthood in whose rod God should give a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, and having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses had received them in that they saw them still; but they also saw buds and branches grow out of Aaron's rod, with ripe fruits upon them; they were almonds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under some degree of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to admire the judgment of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peaceably. And thus God ordained him priest three several times; and he retained that honour without farther disturbance. And hereby this sedition of the Hebrews, which had been a great one, and had lasted a great while, was at last composed.

3. And now Moses, because the tribe of Levi was made free from war, and warlike expeditions, and was set apart for the divine worship, lest they should want, and seek after the necessities of life, and so neglect the temple, commanded the Hebrews, according to the will of God, that when they should gain the possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty-eight good and fair cities to the Levites; and permit them to enjoy their suburbs, as far as the limits of two thousand cubits would extend from the walls of the city. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay the tythe of their annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites and to the priests. And this is what that tribe receives of the multitude; but I think it necessary to set down what is paid by all peculiarly to the priests.

4. Accordingly, he commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set

* Concerning these twelve rods of the twelve tribes of Israel, see St. Clement's account, much larger than that in our Bibles, 1 Epistle, § 43, as is Josephus's present account in some measure larger also.

apart for them the tenth part of the tythe which they every year receive of the people ; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the first-fruits of the entire product of the ground ; and that they should offer the first-born of those four-footed beasts that are appointed for sacrifices, if it be a male, to the priests, to be slain, that they, and their entire families, may eat them in the holy city ; but that the owners of those first-born which are not appointed for sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead ; but for the first-born of a man, five shekels : that they should also have the first-fruits out of the shearing of the sheep ; and that when any baked bread-corn, and made loaves of it, they should give somewhat of what they had baked to them. Moreover, when any made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called Nazarites, that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they * consecrate their hair, and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot that hair for the priests, [to be thrown into the fire.] Such also as dedicate themselves to God, as a corban, which denotes what the Greeks call a gift, when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay down money for the priests thirty shekels, if it be a woman, and fifty if it be a man ; but if any be too poor to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine that sum as they think fit. And if any slay beasts at home for a private festival, but not for a religious one, they are obliged to bring the maw, and the cheek [or breast,] and the right shoulder of the sacrifice, to the priests. With these Moses contrived that the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had out of those offerings for sins, which the people gave them, as I have set it down in the foregoing book. He also ordered, that out of every thing allotted for the priests, their servants, [their sons,] their daughters, and their wives, should partake, as well as themselves, excepting what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins ; for of those none but the males of the family of the priests might eat, and this in the temple also, and that on the same day they were offered.

5. When Moses had made these constitutions, after the sedition was over, he removed, together with the whole

* Grotius on Numb. vi. 18, takes notice, that the Greeks also, as well as the Jews, sometimes consecrated the hair of their heads to the gods.

army, and came to the borders of Idumea. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumeans, and desired him to give him a passage through his country, and agreed to send him what hostages he should desire, to secure him from any injury. He desired him also, that he would allow his army liberty to buy provisions; and, if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the king was not pleased with this embassy from Moses: nor did he allow a passage for the army, but brought his people armed to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in case they should endeavour to force their passage. Upon which Moses consulted God by the oracle, who would not have him begin the war first; and so he withdrew his forces, and travelled round about through the wilderness.

6. Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Moses, came to her end, having completed * her fortieth year since she left Egypt, on † the first day of the lunar month Xanthicus. They then made a public funeral for her, at a great expense. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they call *Sin*; and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people after this manner: he brought an heifer, that had never been used to the plough, or to husbandry; that was complete in all its parts, and entirely of a red colour, at a little distance from the camp, into a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high-priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger, seven times before the tabernacle of God; after this, the entire heifer was burnt in that state, together with its skin and entrails, and they threw cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean man gathered all her ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. When, therefore, any persons were defiled with a dead body, they put a little of these ashes into spring water, with hyssop, and dipping part of these ashes in it, they sprinkled them with it, both on the third day, and on the seventh, and after that they were

* Josephus here uses this phrase, *when the fortieth year was completed*, for when it was begun; as does St. Luke, *when the day of Pentecost was completed*, Acts ii. 1.

† Whether Miriam died, as Josephus's Greek copies imply, on the first day of the month, may be doubted; because the Latin copies say, it was on the tenth, and so say the Jewish calenders also, as Dr. Bernard assures us. It is said her sepulchre is still extant near Petra, the old capital city of Arabia Petraea, at this day; as also that of Aaron, not far off.

clean. This he enjoined them to do also when the tribes should come into their own land.

7. Now when this purification, which their leader made upon the mourning for his sister, as it has been now described, was over, he caused the army to remove, and to march through the wilderness, and through Arabia. And when he came to a place that the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called Arce, but has now the name of Petra, at this place, which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them, in the sight of the whole army, Moses having before told him that he was to die, for this place was over against them. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazer his son, to whom the high-priesthood belonged, because he was the elder brother, and died while the multitude looked upon him. He died in the same year wherein he lost his sister, having lived in all an hundred and twenty and three years. He died on the first day of that lunar month which is called by the Athenians Hecatombaeon, by the Macedonians Lous, but by the Hebrews Abba.

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CHAP. V.

How Moses conquered Sihon and Og, kings of the Amorites, and destroyed their whole army, and then divided their land by lot to two tribes and an half of the Hebrews.

§ 1. THE people mourned for Aaron thirty days; and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the army from that place, and came to the river Arnon, which issuing out of the mountains of Arabia, and running through all that wilderness, fell into the lake Asphaltitis, and became the limit between the land of the Moabites, and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men with the good things it produces. Moses, therefore, sent messengers to Sihon, the king of this country, desiring that he would grant his army a passage, upon what security he should please to require; he promised that he should be no way injured, neither as to that country which Sihon governed, nor as to its inhabitants; and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to their advantage, even though he should desire to sell them their very water. But Sihon refused his offer, and

put his army into battle-array, and was preparing every thing in order to hinder their passing over Arnon.

2. When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult; and determining to wean the Hebrews from their indolent temper, and prevent the disorders which arose thence, which had been the occasion of their former sedition, (nor indeed were they now thoroughly easy in their minds,) he inquired of God whether he would give him leave to fight? which when he had done, and God also promised him the victory, he was himself very courageous, and ready to proceed to fighting. Accordingly, he encouraged the soldiers; and he desired of them that they would take the pleasure of fighting, now God gave them leave so to do. They then, upon the receipt of this commission, which they so much longed for, put on their whole armour, and set about the work without delay. But the Amorite king was not now like to himself when the Hebrews were ready to attack him; but both he himself was affrighted at the Hebrews, and his army, which before had showed themselves to be of good courage, were then found to be timorous: so they could not sustain the first onset, nor bear up against the Hebrews, but fled away, as thinking this would afford them a more likely way for their escape than fighting, for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, from which they yet reaped no advantage when they were forced to fly to them; for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks, they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest, and ran away to the cities. Now the Hebrews pursued them briskly, and obstinately persevered in the labours they had already undergone; and being very skilful in slinging, and very dexterous in throwing of darts, or any thing else of that kind, and also having nothing on but light armour, which made them quick in the pursuit, they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their slings, and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped the slaughter were sorely wounded, and these were more distressed with thirst than with any of those that fought against them, for it was the summer season, and when the greatest number of them were brought down to the river, out of a

desire to drink ; as also, when others fled away by troops, the Hebrews came round them, and shot at them, so that what with darts, and what with arrows, they made a slaughter of them all. Sihon also, their king, was slain. So the Hebrews spoiled their dead bodies, and took their prey. The land also which they took was full of abundance of fruits, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it, and they took the enemies prisoners, for they could no way put a stop to them, since all the fighting men were destroyed. Such was the destruction which overtook the Amorites, who were neither sagacious in counsel, nor courageous in action. Hereupon the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembling an island, the river Arnon being its southern limit ; the river Jabbok determining its northern side, which running into Jordan loses its own name, and takes the other, while Jordan itself runs along by it on its western coast.

3. When matters were come to this state, Og, the king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, fell upon the Israelites. He brought an army with him, and came in haste to the assistance of his friend Sihon. But though he found him already slain, yet did he resolve still to come and fight the Hebrews, supposing he should be too hard for them, and being desirous to try their valour ; but failing of his hope, he was both himself slain in the battle, and all his army was destroyed. So Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and overran the kingdom of Og. He overthrew their cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who yet exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the continent, on account of the goodness of the soil and the great quantity of his wealth. Now Og had very few equals, either in the largeness of his body, or handsomeness of his appearance ; he was also a man of great activity, in the use of his hands, so that his actions were not unequal to the vast largeness, and handsome appearance of his body. And men could easily guess at his strength and magnitude, when they took his bed at Rabboth, the royal city of the Ammonites ; its structure was of iron, its breadth four cubits, and its length a cubit more than double thereto. However, his fall did not only improve the circumstances of the Hebrews for the present, but by his death he was the occasion of farther good success to them ; for they presently took those sixty cities which were encompassed with excellent walls,

and had been subject to him, and all got both in general and in particular a great prey.

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CHAP. VI.

Concerning Balaam the prophet, and what kind of a man he was.

§ 1. Now Moses, when he had brought his army to Jordan, pitched his camp in the great plain over against Jericho. This city is a very happy situation, and very fit for producing palm-trees and balsam. And now the Israelites began to be very proud of themselves, and were very eager for fighting. Moses then, after he had offered for a few days sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of armed men to lay waste the country of the Midianites, and to take their cities. Now the occasion which he took for making war upon them was this that follows.

2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who had from his ancestor a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how greatly the Israelites were grown, he was much affrighted on account of his own and his kingdom's danger; for he was not * acquainted with this that the Hebrews would not meddle with any other country, but were to be contented with the possession of the land of Canaan, God having forbid them to go any farther. So he, with more haste than wisdom, resolved to make an attempt upon them by words; but he did not judge it prudent to fight against them, after they had had such prosperous success, and even became out of ill success more happy than before, but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets at that time, and one that was in friendship with them, sent some of their hon-

* What Josephus here remarks, is well worth our remark in this place also, viz. that the Israelites were never to meddle with the Moabites, or Ammonites, or any other people, but those belonging to the land of Canaan, and the country of Sihon and Og beyond Jordan, as far as the desert and Euphrates, and that therefore no other people had reason to fear the conquests of the Israelites: but that those countries, given them by God, were the proper and peculiar portion among the nations, and that all who endeavoured to dispossess them might ever be justly destroyed by them.

ourable princes along with the ambassadors of Balak, to entreat the prophet to come to them that he might imprecate curses to the destruction of the Israelites. So Balaam received the ambassadors, and treated them very kindly; and when he had supped, he inquired what was God's will, and what this matter was for which the Midianites entreated him to come to them? But when God opposed his going, he came to the ambassadors, and told them, that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but informed them, that God was opposite to his intentions, even that God who had raised him to great reputation on account of the truth of his predictions, for that this army, which they entreated him to come to curse, was in the favour of God, on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites: and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

3. Now the Midianites, at the earnest instances, and fervent entreaties of Balak, sent other ambassadors to Balaam, who desiring to gratify the men, inquired again of God; but he was displeased at this * [second] trial, and bid him by no means contradict the ambassadors. Now Balaam did not imagine that God gave this injunction in order to deceive him, so he went along with the ambassadors: but when the divine angel met him in the way, when he was in a narrow passage, and hedged in with a wall on both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode understood that it was a divine spirit that met

* Note, that Josephus never supposes Balaam to be an idolater, nor to seek idolatrous enchantment, or to prophesy falsely, but to be no other than an ill-disposed prophet of the true God; and intimates that God's answer the second time, permitting him to go, was ironical, and on design that he should be deceived, (which sort of deception, by way of punishment for former crimes, Josephus never scruples to admit, as ever esteeming such wicked men justly and providentially deceived.) But perhaps we had better keep here close to the text; which says, Numb. xxiii. 20, 21. that God only permitted Balaam to go along with the ambassadors, in case they came and called him, or positively insisted on his going along with them, on any terms: whereas Balaam seems, out of impatience, to have risen up in the morning and saddled his ass, and rather to have called them than stayed for their calling him; so zealous does he seem to have been for his reward of divination, his wages of unrighteousness. Numb. xxii. 7. 17. 18. 37. 2 Pet. i. 15. Jude. v. 11. which reward or wages the truly religious prophets of God never required, nor accepted, as our Josephus justly takes notice in the cases of Samuel, Antiq. B. v. ch. iv. § 1. and Daniel, Antiq. B. x. ch. xi. § 3. See also Gen. xiv. 22, 23. 2 Kings, v. 15, 16. 26. 27. and Acts, viii. 18—24.

him, and thrust Balaam to one of the walls, without regard to the stripes which Balaam, when he was hurt by the wall, gave her: but when the ass, upon the angel's continuance to distress her, and upon the stripes which were given her, fell down, by the will of God, she made use of the voice of a man, and complained of Balaam as acting unjustly to her; that whereas he had no fault to find with her in her former service to him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, as not understanding that she was hindered from serving him in what he was now going about, by the providence of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the voice of the ass, which was that of a man, the angel plainly appeared to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass; and informed him, that the brute creature was not in fault, but that he was himself come to obstruct his journey, as being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was preparing to return back again, yet did God excite him to go on his intended way; but added this injunction, that he should declare nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

4. When God had given him this charge, he came to Balak; and when the king had entertained him in a magnificent manner, he desired him to go to one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also came to the mountain, and brought the prophet along with him with a royal attendance. This mountain lay over their heads, and was distant sixty furlongs from their camp. Now when he saw them, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; to which desire the king did presently conform. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt-offerings, that he might observe some signal of the flight of the Hebrews. Then said he, "Happy is the people on whom God bestows the possession of innumerable good things, and grants them his own providence to be their assistant and their guide! so that there is not any nation among mankind but you will be esteemed superior to them in virtue, and in the earnest prosecution of the best rules of life, and of such as are pure from wickedness; and will leave those rules to your excellent children, and this out of the regard that God bears to you, and the provision of such things for you as may render you happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you, and it shall ever be under the

command of your children; and both all the earth, as well as the sea, shall be filled with your glory; and you shall be sufficiently numerous to supply the world in general, and every region of it in particular, with inhabitants out of your stock. However, O blessed army! wonder that you are become so many from one father: and truly, the land of Canaan can now hold you, as being yet comparatively few; but know ye that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. The multitude of your posterity also shall live as well in the islands, as on the continent, and that more in number than are the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not relinquish the care of you, but will afford you an abundance of all good things in time of peace, with victory and dominion in time of war. May the children of your enemies have an inclination to fight against you; and may they be so hardy as to come to arms, and to assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory; nor will their return be agreeable to their children and wives. To so great a degree of valour will you be raised by the providence of God, who is able to diminish the affluence of some, and to supply the wants of others."

5. Thus did Balaam speak by inspiration, as not being in his own power, but moved to say what he did by the divine spirit. But when Balak was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he was to come, as he and his confederates had invited him, by the promise of great presents; for whereas he came to curse their enemies, he had made an encomium upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balaam replied, "O Balak, if thou rightly considerest this whole matter, canst thou suppose that it is in our power to be silent, or to say any thing when the spirit of God seizes upon us? for he puts such words as he pleases in our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves conscious of. I well remember by what entreaties both you and the Midianites so joyfully brought me hither, and on that account I took this journey. It was my prayer, that I might not put an affront upon you, as to what you desired of me; but God is more powerful than the purposes I had made to serve you, for those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely unable to do it, or to forbear to utter what God suggests to them, or to offer violence to his will; for when he prevents us, and enters into us, nothing that

we say is our own. I then did not intend to praise this army, nor to go over the several good things which God intended to do to their race, but since he was so favourable to them, and so ready to bestow upon them an happy life, and eternal glory, he suggested the declaration of those things to me. But now, because it is my desire to oblige thee thyself, as well as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not decent for me to reject, go to, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before, that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bind these men with curses." Which, when Balak had agreed to, God would not even upon * second sacrifices consent to his cursing the Israelites. Then fell Balaam upon his face, and foretold what calamities would befall the several kings of the nations, and the most eminent cities, some of which of old were not so much as inhabited; which events have come to pass among the several people concerned, both in the foregoing ages, and in this, till my own memory, both by sea and land. From which completion of all these predictions that he made, one may easily guess that the rest will have their completion, in time to come.

6. But Balak being very angry that the Israelites were not cursed, sent away Balaam without thinking him worthy of any honour. Whereupon, when he was just upon his journey, in order to pass the Euphrates, he sent for Balak, and for the princes of the Midianites, and spake thus to them: "O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present, (for I am obliged, even without the will of God, to gratify you,) it is true no entire destruction can seize upon the nation of the Hebrews, neither by war, nor by plague, nor by scarcity of the fruits of the earth, nor can any other unexpected accident be their entire ruin; for the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from such a misfortune, nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them whereby they may all perish; but some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still befall them; but after that they will flourish again,

* Whether Josephus had in his copy but *two* attempts of Balaam in all to curse Israel, or whether by this his *twice offering sacrifices* he meant *twice* beside that first time already mentioned, which yet is not very probable, cannot now be certainly determined. In the mean time, all other copies have *three* such attempts of Balaam to curse them in the present history.

to the terror of those that brought those mischiefs upon them. So that if you have a mind to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions: do you, therefore, set out the handsomest of such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and proper to force and conquer the modesty of those that behold them, and these decked and trimmed to the highest degree you are able: then do you send them to be near the Israelites' camp; and give them in charge, that when the young men of the Hebrews desire their company, they allow it them; and when they see that they are enamoured of them, let them take their leaves, and if they entreat them to stay, let them not give their consent till they have persuaded them to leave off their obedience to their own laws, and the worship of that God who established them, and to worship the gods of Midianites and Moabites, for by this means God will be angry * at them." Accordingly, when Balaam had suggested this counsel to them, he went his way.

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daughters, as Balaam had exhorted them, the Hebrew young men were allured by their beauty, and came to discourse with them, and besought them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their conversation. These daughters of the Midianites received their words gladly, and consented to it, and staid with them; but when they had brought them to be enamoured of them, and their inclinations to them were grown to ripeness, they began to think of departing from them, then it was that these men became greatly disconsolate at the women's departure, and they were urgent with them not to leave them, but begged they would continue there, and become their wives; and they promised them, they should be owned as mistresses of all they had. This they said with an oath; and called God for the arbitrator of what they promised; and this with tears in their eyes, and all other such marks of concern as might show how miserable they thought themselves without them, and so might move their compassion for them. So

* This grand maxim, that *God's people of Israel should never be hurt, nor destroyed, but by drawing them to sin against God*, appears to be true, by the entire history of that people both in the Bible, and in Josephus, and is often taken notice of in them both. See in particular a most remarkable Ammonite testimony to this purpose, Judith, v. 5—21.

the women, as soon as they perceived they had made them their slaves, and had caught them with their conversation, began to speak thus to them :

8. "O you illustrious young men! we have houses of our own at home, and great plenty of good things there, together with the natural affectionate love of our parents and friends; nor is it out of our want of any such things that we come to discourse with you, nor did we admit of your invitation with design to prostitute the beauty of our body for gain, but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we might treat you with such honours as hospitality required; and now seeing you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled when you think we are departing, we are not averse to your entreaties; and if we may receive such assurance of your good-will as we think can be alone sufficient, we will be glad to lead our lives with you as your wives, but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back to our parents, after an ignominious manner; and they desired that they would excuse them from guarding against that danger." But the young men professed they would give them any assurance they should desire; nor did they at all contradict what they requested, so great was the passion they had for them. "If then," said they, "this be your resolution, since you make use of such * customs and conduct of life as are entirely different from all other men, insomuch that your kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your kinds of drink are not common to others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for your wives, that you do withall worship our gods: nor can there be any other demonstration of the kindness which you say you already have, and promise to

* What Josephus here puts into the mouths of these Midianite women, who came to entice the Israelites to lewdness and idolatry, *vis.* that their worship of the God of Israel, in opposition to their idol god, implied their living according to the holy laws which the true God had given them by Moses, in opposition to those impure laws which were observed under their false gods, well deserves our consideration; and gives us a substantial reason for the great concern that was ever showed under the law of Moses to preserve the Israelite from idolatry, and in the worship of the true God it being of no less consequence than whether God's people should be governed by the holy laws of the true God or by the impure laws, derived from demons, under the Pagan idolatry.

have hereafter to us, than this, that you worship the same gods that we do ; for has any one reason to complain, that you now are come into this country, you should worship the proper gods of the same country ; especially while our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody else but yourselves." So they said they must either come into such methods of divine worship as all others came into, or else they must look out for another world, wherein they may live by themselves, according to their own laws.

9. Now the young men were induced by the fondness they had for these women, to think they spake very well, so they gave themselves up to what they persuaded them, and transgressed their own laws ; and supposing there were many gods, and resolving that they would sacrifice to them according to the laws of that country which ordained them, they both were delighted with their strange food, and went on to do every thing that the women would have them do, though in contradiction to their own laws ; so far, indeed, that this transgression was already gone through the whole army of the young men, and they fell into a sedition that was much worse than the former, and into danger of the entire abolition of their own institutions ; for when once the youth had tasted of these strange customs, they went with insatiable inclinations into them ; and even where some of the principal men were illustrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, they also were corrupted together with the rest.

10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon, accompanied with Cozbi, a Midianitish woman, who was the daughter of Sur, a man of authority in that country ; and being desired by his wife to disregard the law of Moses, and to follow those she was used to, he complied with her, and this both by sacrificing, after a manner different from his own, and by taking a stranger to wife. When things were thus, Moses was afraid that matters should grow worse, and called the people to a congregation, but then accused nobody by name, as unwilling to drive those into despair who, by lying concealed, might come to repentance ; but he said, " that they did not do what was either worthy of themselves, or of their fathers, by preferring pleasure to God, and to the living according to his will : that it was fit they should change their courses, while their affairs were still in

a good state ; and think that to be true fortitude which of fers not violence to their laws, but that which resists their lusts. And besides that, he said, it was not a reasonable thing, when they had lived soberly in the wilderness, to act madly now they were in prosperity ; and that they ought not to lose, now they have abundance, what they had gained when they had little." And so did he endeavour, by saying this, to correct the young men, to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

11. But Zimri arose up after him, and said, " Yes, indeed, Moses, thou art at liberty to make use of such laws as thou art fond of, and hast by accustoming thyself to them, made them firm ; otherwise, if things had not been thus, thou hadst often been punished before now, and hadst known that the Hebrews are not easily put upon : but thou shalt not have me as one of thy followers in thy tyrannical commands, for thou dost nothing else hitherto, but under pretence of laws, and of God, wickedly impose on us slavery, and gain dominion to thyself, while thou deprivest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of free men, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the Hebrews than were the Egyptians themselves, as pretending to punish according to his laws every one's acting what is most agreeable to himself ; but thyself better deservest to suffer punishment, who assumest to abolish what every one acknowledges to be what is good for him, and aimest to make thy single opinion to have more force than that of all the rest ; and what I now do, and think to be right, I shall not hereafter deny to be according to my own sentiments. I have married, as thou sayest rightly, a strange woman, and thou hearest what I do from myself as from one that is free, for truly I did not intend to conceal myself. I also own, that I sacrifice to those gods to whom you do not think fit to sacrifice ; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not like one that lives under tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man : nor shall any one find cause to rejoice, who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself."

12. Now when Zimri had said these things, about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their peace, both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw their legislator was not willing to bring

his insolence before the public any farther, or openly to contend with him, for he avoided that lest many should imitate the impudence of his language, and hereby disturb the multitude: upon this the assembly was dissolved. However, the mischievous attempt had proceeded farther if Zimri had not been first slain, which came to pass on the following occasion: Phineas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries in the dignity of his father, (for he was the son of Eleazar, the high-priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses's brother,) who was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his unworthy behaviour should grow stronger by impunity, and in order to prevent this transgression from proceeding farther, which would happen if the ring-leaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity, both in strength of mind and body, that, when he undertook any very dangerous attempt, he did not leave it off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory; so he came into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and with it he slew Cozbi also. Upon which all those young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do a glorious action, imitated Phineas's boldness, and slew those that were found to be guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly, many of those that had transgressed perished by the magnanimous valour of those young men; the rest all perished by a plague, which distemper God himself inflicted upon them; so that all those their kindred, who, instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, and persuaded them to go on, were esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly, there perished out of the army no fewer than * fourteen [twenty-four] thousand at that time.

13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites; concerning which expedition we shall speak presently, when we have first related what we have omitted; for it is but just not to pass over our legislator's due encomium, on account of his conduct here, because, although this Balaam, who was sent for by

* The mistake in all Josephus's copies, Greek and Latin, which have here 14,000 instead of 24,000, is so flagrant, that our very learned editors, Bernard and Hudson, have put the latter number directly into the text: I choose rather to put it in brackets.

the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, and when he was hindered from doing it by divine providence, did still suggest that advice to them, by making use of which our enemies had well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews, with their wiles, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions, yet did he do him great honour, by setting down his prophecies in writing. And while it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could be a witness against him, and accuse him for so doing, he still gave his attestation to him, and did him the honour to make mention of him on this account. But let every one think of these matters as he pleases.

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CHAP. VII.

How the Hebrews fought with the Midianites, and overcame them.

§ 1. Now Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the causes forementioned, in all twelve thousand, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed Phineas for their commander; of which Phineas we made mention a little before, as he that had guarded the laws of the Hebrews, and had inflicted punishment upon Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites perceived beforehand how the Hebrews were coming, and would suddenly be upon them, they assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited the enemy's coming. When they were come, and they had joined battle with them, an immense multitude of the Midianites fell; nor could they be numbered, they were so very many: and among them fell all their kings, five in number, viz. Evi, Zur, Reba, Hur, and Rekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is till now so called by the whole Arabian nation, *Arecem*, from the name of the king that built it, but is by the Greeks called *Petra*. Now, when the enemies were discomfited, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they let virgins alone, as Moses had commanded Phineas to do, who indeed came

back, bringing with him an army that had received no harm, and a great deal of prey; fifty-two thousand beeves, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses; for they were so wealthy that they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about * thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses parted the prey into parts, and gave one fiftieth part to Eleazar and the two priests, and another fiftieth part to the Levites; and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good things by their valour; and there being no misfortune that attended them, or hindered the enjoyment of that happiness.

2. But Moses was now grown old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as a prophet, and for a commander of the army, if they should at any time stand in need of such a one: and this was done by the command of God, that to him the care of the public should be committed. Now Joshua had been instructed in

* The slaughter of all the Midianite women, that had prostituted themselves to the lewd Israelites, and the preservation of those that had not been guilty therein; the last of which were no fewer than 32,000, both here, and Numb. xxxi. 15, 16, 17. 35. 40. 46. and both by the particular command of God, are highly remarkable; and show, that even in nations otherwise, for their wickedness doomed to destruction, the innocent were sometimes particularly and providentially taken care of and delivered from that destruction, which directly implies, that it was the wickedness of the nations of Canaan, and nothing else, that occasioned their excision. See Gen. xv. 16. 1 Sam. xv. 18. 33. Constitut. Apost. B. viii. ch. xii. p. 402. In the first of which places the reason of the delays of the punishment of the Amorites is given, *because their iniquity was not yet full*. In the second, Saul is ordered to *go and destroy the sinners, the Amalekites*, plainly implying that they were therefore to be destroyed because they were sinners, and not otherwise. In the third, the reason is given, why king Agag was not to be spared, *viz. because of his former cruelty, as thy sword hath made [the Hebrew] women childless, so shall thy mother be made childless among women by the Hebrews*. In the last place, the Apostles, or their amanuensis Clement, give this reason for the necessity of the coming of Christ, that *men had formerly perverted both the positive law and that of nature, and had cast out of their mind the memory of the flood, the burning of Sodom, the plagues of the Egyptians, and the slaughter of the inhabitants of Palestine*, as signs of most amazing impatience and insensibility, under the punishments of horrid wickedness.

all those kinds of learning which concerned the laws and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

3. At this time it was, that the two tribes of Gad, and Reubel, and the half tribe of Manasseh, abounded in a multitude of cattle, as well as in all other kinds of prosperity, whence they had a meeting, and in a body came and besought Moses to give them, as their peculiar portion, that land of the Amorites, which they had taken by right of war, because it was fruitful, and good for feeding of cattle. But Moses, supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and invented this provision for their cattle a handsome excuse for avoiding that war, he called them ar-rant cowards; and said, "they had only contrived a decent excuse for that cowardice, and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were labouring with great pains to obtain the land they were desirous to have, and that they were not willing to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were, under the divine promise, to pass over Jordan, and overcome those our enemies which God had showed them, and so obtain their land." But these tribes, when they saw that Moses was angry with them, and when they could not deny but he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made an apology for themselves, and said, that "it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they might leave the prey they had gotten in places of safety, and thereby might be more expedite, and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles." They added this also, that "when they had built cities, wherein they might preserve their children, and wives, and possessions, if he would bestow upon them, they would go along with the rest of the army." Hereupon Moses was pleased with what they said: so he called for Eleazar the high-priest, and Joshua, and the chief of the tribes, and permitted these tribes to possess the land of the Amorites; but upon this condition, that they should join with their kinsmen in the war, until all things were settled. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built them strong cities, and put into them their children, and their wives, and whatsoever else they had that might be an impediment to the labours of their future marches.

4. Moses also now built those ten cities, which were to be of the number of the forty-eight [for the Levites;] three

of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and gave to them, and he assigned the same time for their banishment with that of the life of the high-priest under whom the slaughter and flight happened, after which death of the high-priest he permitted the slayer to return home. During the time of his exile, the relations of him that was slain may, by this law, kill the manslayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city to which he fled, though this permission was not granted to any other person. Now the cities which were set apart for this flight were these; Bezer, at the borders of Arabia; Ramoth, of the land of Gilead; and Golan, in the land of Bashan. There were to be also, by Moses's command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

5. At this time the chief men of the tribe of Manasseh came to Moses, and informed him, that there was an eminent man of their tribe dead, whose name was *Zelophehad*, who left no male children, but left daughters; and asked him, whether these daughters might inherit his land, or not? He made this answer, that if they shall marry into their own tribe, they shall carry their estate along with them; but if they dispose of themselves in marriage to men of another tribe, they shall leave their inheritance in their father's tribe; and then it was that Moses ordained, that every one's inheritance should continue in his own tribe.

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CHAP. VIII.

The polity settled by Moses; and how he disappeared from among mankind.

§ 1. WHEN forty years were completed, within thirty days, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the city Abila now stands, a place full of palm-trees; and all the people being come together, he spake thus to them:

2. "O you Israelites and fellow soldiers! who have been partners with me in this long and uneasy journey, since it is now the will of God, and the course of old age, at a hundred and twenty, requires it, that I should depart out of this life; and since God has forbidden me to be a patron or

an assistant to you in what remains to be done beyond Jordan, I thought it reasonable not to leave off my endeavours even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and a memorial for myself, when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity: come, therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal prosperous possession thereof to your children after you, and then let me thus go out of the world; and I cannot but deserve to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already done for you, and because, when souls are about to leave the body, they speak with the sincerest freedom. O * children of Israel! *there is but one source of happiness for all mankind*, THE FAVOUR OF GOD, for he alone is able to give good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive those of them that sin against him; towards whom, if you behave yourselves according to his will, and according to what I, who well understand his mind, do exhort you to, you will both be esteemed blessed, and will be admired by all men; and will never come into misfortunes, nor cease to be happy: you will then preserve the possession of the good things you already have, and will quickly obtain those that you at present are in want of, only do you be obedient to those whom God would have you to follow. Nor do you prefer any other constitution of government before the laws now given you, neither do you disregard that way of divine worship which you now have, nor change it for any other form: and if you do this, you will be the most courageous of all men, in undergoing the fatigues of war, and will not be easily conquered by any of your enemies; for while God is present with you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able to despise the opposition of all mankind: and great rewards of virtue are proposed for you, if you preserve that virtue through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the principal and first reward, and after that it bestows abundance of others; so that your exercises of virtue towards other

* Josephus here, in this one sentence, sums up his notion of Moses's very long and very serious exhortations in the book of Deuteronomy; and his words are so true, and of such importance, that they deserve to be had in constant remembrance both by Jews and Christians: *O children of Israel! there is but one source of happiness for all mankind*, THE FAVOUR OF GOD.

men will make your own lives happy, and render you more glorious than foreigners can be, and procure you an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings you will be able to obtain, in case you hearken to, and observe those laws which, by divine revelation, I have ordained for you; that is, in case withall you meditate upon the wisdom that is in them. I am going from you myself, rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I recommend you to the wise conduct of your law, to the becoming order of your polity, and to the virtues of your commanders, who will take care of what is for your advantage. And that God, who has been till now your leader, and by whose good-will I have myself been useful to you, will not put a period now to his providence over you, but as long as you desire to have him your protector, in your pursuits after virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you. Your high-priest also, Eleazar, as well as Joshua, with the senate, and chief of your tribes, will go before you, and suggest the best advices to you; by following which advices you will continue to be happy, to whom do you give ear, without reluctance, as sensible that all such as know well how to be governed, will also know how to govern, if they be promoted to that authority themselves. And do not you esteem liberty to consist in opposing such directions as your governors think fit to give you for your practice, as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else but abusing your benefactors; which error if you can avoid for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better condition than they have hitherto been: nor do you ever indulge such a degree of passion in these matters, as you have oftentimes done when you have been very angry with me; for you know that I have been oftener in danger of death from you than from our enemies. What I now put you in mind of is not done in order to reproach you, for I do not think it proper, now I am going out of the world, to bring this to your remembrance; in order to leave you offended at me, since at the time, when I underwent those hardships from you, I was not angry at you, but I do it in order to make you wiser hereafter, and to teach you that this will be for your security: I mean, that you never be injurious to those that preside over you, even when you are become rich, as you will be to a great degree when you have passed over Jordan, and are in possession of the land of Canaan. Since when you

shall have once proceeded so far by your wealth, as to a contempt and disregard of virtue, you will also forfeit the favour of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will be beaten in war, and will have the land which you possess taken away again from you by your enemies, and this with great reproaches upon your conduct. You will be scattered over the whole world, and will, as slaves, entirely fill both sea and land: and when once you have had the experience of what I now say, you will repent, and remember the laws you have broken, when it is too late. Whence I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws, to leave none of your enemies alive when you have conquered them, but to look upon it as for your advantage to destroy them all, lest, if you permit them to live, you taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own proper institutions. I also do farther exhort you to overthrow their altars, and their groves, and whatsoever temples they have among them, and to burn all such their nation and their very memory with fire, for by this means alone the safety of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured to you. And in order to prevent your ignorance of virtue, and the degeneracy of your nature into vice, I have also ordained your laws, by divine suggestion, and a form of government, which are so good, that, if you regularly observe them, you will be esteemed of all men the most happy."

8. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws and the constitution of government written in a book. Upon which the people fell into tears, and appeared already touched with the sense that they should have a great want of their conductor, because they remembered what a number of dangers he had passed through, and what care he had taken of their preservation; they desponded about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another governor like him; and feared that God would then take less care of them when Moses was gone, who used to intercede for them. They also repented of what they had said to him in the wilderness when they were angry, and were in grief on those accounts, inso-much that the whole body of the people fell into tears with such bitterness, that it was past the power of words to comfort them in their affliction. However, Moses gave them some consolation; and by calling them off the thought how worthy he was of their weeping for him, he exhorted them to

keep to that form of government he had given them ; and then the congregation was dissolved at that time.

4. Accordingly, I shall now first describe this form of government, which was agreeable to the dignity and virtue of Moses : and shall thereby inform those that read these Antiquities, what our original settlements were, and shall then proceed to the remaining histories. Now those settlements are all still in writing as he left them ; and we shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor any thing besides what Moses left us, only we shall so far innovate as to digest the several kinds of laws into a regular system, for they were by him left in writing as they were accidentally scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inquiry had learned them of God. On which account, I have thought it necessary to premise this observation beforehand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of an offence herein. Now part of our constitution will include the laws that belong to our political state. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common conversation and intercourse one with another, I have reserved that for a discourse concerning our manner of life, and the occasion of those laws, which I propose to myself, with God's assistance, to write after I have finished the work I am now upon.

5. When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterward determined to build cities, if you will do what is pleasing to God, you will have a secure state of happiness. Let there be then one city of the land of Canaan, and this situate in the most agreeable place for its goodness, and very eminent in itself, and let it be that which God shall choose for himself, by prophetic revelation. Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar, not reared of hewn stones, but of such as you gather together at random ; which stones, when they are whited over with mortar, will have an handsome appearance, and be beautiful to the sight. Let the ascent to it be * not by steps, but by an ac-

* This law, both here and Exod. xx. 25, 26. of *not going up to God's altar by ladder steps*, but on acclivity, seems not to have belonged to the altar of the tabernacle, which was in all but three cubits high, Exod. xxvii. 1. nor to that of Ezekiel, which was expressly to be gone up to by steps, xliii. 17. but rather on occasional altars of any considerable altitude and largeness ; as also probably to Solomon's altar, to which it is here applied by Josephus, as well

clivity of raised earth. And let there be neither an altar, nor a temple in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

6. He that blasphemeth God, let him be stoned; and let him hang upon a tree all that day, and then let him be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner.

7. Let those that live as remote as the bounds of the land which the Hebrews shall possess, come to that city where the temple shall be, and this three times in a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and may entreat him for those that shall want hereafter; and let them, by this means, maintain a friendly correspondence with one another, by such meetings and feasting together; for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same institutions of laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with one another, and so renewing the memorials of this union, for if they do not thus converse together continually, they will appear like mere strangers to one another.

8. Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth, besides that which you have allotted to give to the priests and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country, but it is to be used in those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess, so as may be to the honour of the donor.

9. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the * hire of a woman which is an harlot, for the Deity is not pleased with any thing that arises from such abuses of nature; of which sort none can be worse than this prostitution of the body. In like manner, no one may take the price of the covering

as to that in Zorobabel's and Herod's temple, which were, I think, all ten cubits high. See 2 Chron. iv. 1. and Antiq. B. viii. ch. iii.

† 7. The reason why these temples, and these only, were to have this ascent on an acclivity, and not by steps, is obvious, that before the invention of stairs, such as we now use, decency could not be otherwise provided for in the loose garments which the priests wore, as the law required. See Lamy of the Tabernacle and Temple, p. 444.

* The hire of public or secret harlots was given to Venus in Syria as Lucian informs us, p. 878. and against some such vile practice of the old idolaters this law seems to have been made.

of a bitch, either of one that is used in hunting, or in keeping of sheep, and thence sacrifice to God.

10. Let no one * blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem such : nor may one steal what belongs to strange temples ; nor take away the gifts that are dedicated to any god.

11. Let not any one of you wear a garment made of woollen and linen, for that is appointed to be for the priests alone.

12. When the multitude are assembled together into the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high-priest stand upon an high desk, whence he may be heard, and let him read the † laws to all the people : and let neither the women nor the children be hindered from hearing, no, nor the servants neither ; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out, for by this means they will not be guilty of sin, when they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined them. The laws also will have a great authority among them, as foretelling what they will suffer if they break them ; and imprinting in their souls by this hearing what they commanded them to do, that so there may always be within their minds that intention of the laws which they have despised and broken, and have thereby been the causes of their own mischief. Let the children also learn the laws, as the first thing they are taught, which will be the best thing they are taught, and will be the cause of their own future felicity.

13. Let every one commemorate before God the benefits which he bestowed upon them, at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every day, both when the day begins, and when the hour of sleep comes on ; gratitude being in its own nature a just thing, and serving not only by way of return for past, but also by way of invitation of future favours. They are also to inscribe the principal

* The Apostolical Constitutions, B. ii. ch. xxvi. § 31. expound this law of Moses, Exod. xxii. 28 *Thou shalt not revile or blaspheme the gods*, or magistrates, which is a much more probable expression than this of Josephus's, of heathen gods as here, and against Apion, B. ii. ch. iii. § 4.

† What book of the law was thus publicly read, see the note on Antiq. B. x. ch. v. § 5. and Esd. ix. 39—55.

blessings they had received from God upon their * doors; and show the same remembrance of them on their arms : as also, they are to bear on their forehead, and their arm, those wonders which declare the power of God, and his good will towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear every where conspicuous about them.

14. Let there be seven men to judge † in every city, and these such as have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. Let every judge have two officers allotted him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are chosen to judge in the several cities be had in great honour ; and let none be permitted to revile any others when these are present, nor to carry themselves in an insolent manner to them, it being natural that reverence towards those in high offices among men should procure men's fear and reverence towards God. Let those that judge be permitted to determine according as they think to be right, unless any one can show that they have taken bribes, to the perversion of justice, or can allege any other accusation against them, whereby it may appear they have passed an unjust sentence ; for it is not fit that causes should be openly determined out of regard to gain, or to the dignity of the suitors, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all other things, otherwise God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those, the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence ; *for justice is the*

* Whether these phylacteries, and other Jewish memorials of the law, here mentioned by Josephus and by Moses, (besides the fringes on the borders of their garments, Numb. xv. 37.) were literally meant by God, I much question. That they have been long observed by the Pharisees, and the Rabbinical Jews, is certain : however, the Caraites, who receive not the unwritten traditions of the elders, but keep close to the written law, with Jerom and Grotius, think they were not literally to be understood : as Bernard and Reland here take notice. Nor indeed do I remember, that either in the ancients books of the Old Testament, or in the books we call *Apocrypha* there are any signs of such literal observations appearing among the Jews ; though their real or mystical signification, i. e. the constant remembrance and observations of the laws of God by Moses be frequently inculcated in all the sacred writings.

† Here, as well as elsewhere, § 38. of his Life, § 14. and of the War, B. ii. chap. xx. § 5. are but seven judges appointed for small cities, instead of *twenty-three* in the modern Rabbins ; which modern Rabbins are always but of very little authority in comparison of our Josephus.

power of God. He, therefore, that gratifies those in great dignity, supposes them more potent than God himself. But if these judges are unable to give a just sentence about the causes that come before them, (which case is not unfrequent in human affairs,) let them send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high-priest, the prophet, and the sanhedrim, determine as it shall seem good to them.

15. But let not a single witness be credited, but three, or two at the least, and those such as whose testimony is confirmed by their good lives. But let not the testimony of *women be admitted, on account of the levity and boldness of their sex. Nor let servants be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul, since it is probable that they may not speak truth, either out of hope of gain, or fear of punishment. But if any one be believed to have borne false witness, let him, when he is convicted, suffer all the very same punishments which he against whom he bore witness was to have suffered.

16. If a murder be committed in any place, and he that did it be not found, nor is there any suspicion upon one as he had hated the man, and so had killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made after the man, and rewards proposed to any who will discover him : but if still no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the murder was committed, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies ; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase an heifer, and bring it to a valley, and to a place therein where there is no land ploughed, or trees planted, and let them cut the sinews of the heifer ; then the priests, and Leyites, and senate of that city, shall take water, and wash their hands over the head of the heifer ; and they shall openly declare, that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done it themselves, nor been assisting to any that did it. They shall also beseech God to be merciful to them, that no such horrid fact may any more be done in that land.

17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best

* I have never observed elsewhere, that, in the Jewish government, women were not admitted as legal witnesses in courts of justice. None of our copies of the Pentateuch say a word of it. It is very probable, however, that this was the exposition of the Scribes and Pharisees, and the practice of the Jews in the days of Josephus.

constitution: and may you never have any inclination to any other form of government; and may you always love that form, and have the laws for your governors, and govern all your actions according to them; for you need no supreme governor but God. But if you shall desire a king, let him be one of your own nation: let him be always careful of justice, and other virtues, perpetually; let him submit to the laws, and esteem God's commands to be his highest wisdom; but let him do nothing without the high-priest, and the votes of the senators: let him not have a great number of wives, nor pursue abundance of riches, nor a multitude of horses, whereby he may grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained, lest he become so potent that his state be inconsistent with your welfare.

18. Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, neither our own, nor of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care you do not take those land-marks away, which are, as it were, a divine and unshaken limitation of rights made by God himself, to last forever, since this going beyond limits, and gaining ground upon others, is the occasion of wars and seditions; for those that remove boundaries are not far off an attempt to subvert the laws.

19. He that plants a piece of land, whose trees produce fruits before the fourth year, is not to bring thence any first fruits to God, nor is he to make use of that fruit himself, for it is not produced in its proper season: for when nature has a force put on her at an unreasonable time, the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the master's use; but let the owner gather all that is grown on the fourth year, for then it is in its proper season. And let him that has gathered it, carry it to the holy city, and spend that, together with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, with the orphans, and the widows. But on the fifth year, the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

20. You are not to sow a piece of land with seed which is planted with vines, for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen; and not to oblige other animals to come under the same yoke with them, but to till your land with those beasts that are of the same kind with each other. The seeds are also to be pure, and without mixture, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts,

since nature does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in their own nature alike ; nor are you to permit beasts of different kinds to gender together ; for there is reason to fear that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kinds to men, though it takes its first rise from evil practices about such smaller things. Nor is any thing to be allowed by imitation, whereof any degree of subversion may creep into the constitution. Nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even those may be managed after an unblameable manner.

21. Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also, but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in want of the necessities of life, that it may be a support and a supply to them, in order to their subsistence. In like manner, when they gather their grapes, let them leave some smaller bunches for the poor : and let them pass over some of the fruits of the olive trees when they gather them, and leave them to be partaken of by those that have none of their own ; for the advantage arising from the exact collection of all will not be so considerable to the owners, as will arise from the gratitude of the poor. And God will provide, that the land shall more willingly produce what shall be for the nourishment of its fruits, in case you do not merely take care of your own advantage, but have regard to the support of others also. Nor are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen when they tread the ears of corn in the threshing floor ; for it is not just to restrain our fellow labouring animals, and those that work in order to its production, of this fruit of their labours. Nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe to touch them, but to give them leave to fill themselves full of what you have ; and this whether they be of your own country or strangers, as being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe ; but let it not be esteemed lawful for them to carry any away. Nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the wine presses, restrain those whom they meet from eating of them ; for it is unjust, out of envy, to hinder those that desire it, to partake of the good things that come into the world, according to God's will, and this while the season is at the height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some, out of bashfulness, are unwilling to touch these fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them : I mean

those that are Israelites, as if they were themselves the owners and lords, on account of the kindred there is between them. Nay, let them desire men that come from other countries, to partake of these tokens of friendship which God has given in their proper season; for that is not to be deemed as idly spent, which any one out of kindness communicates to another, since God bestows plenty of good things on men, not only for themselves to reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of generosity; and he is desirous, by this means, to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they abundantly communicate out of their great superfluities to even these foreigners also. But for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with * forty stripes save one, by the public executioner; let him undergo this punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a free man, and this because he was such a slave to gain, as to lay a blot upon his own dignity; for it is proper for you, who have had the experience of the afflictions in Egypt, and of those in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and while you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute of the same plenty, by the like sympathy to such as stand in need of it.

2. Besides those two tithes, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals, you are to bring every third year a † third tithe to be distributed to those that want it; to women also that are widows; and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all into the temple; and when they have blessed God for that land which bare them, and which he had given them

* This penalty of *forty stripes save one*, here mentioned, and † 23. was five times inflicted on St. Paul himself by the Jews, 2 Cor. xi. 24.

† Josephus's plain and express interpretation of this law of Moses, Deut. xiv. 28, 29. xxvi. 12, &c. that the Jews were bound every third year to pay three tithes, that to the Levites, that for sacrifices at Jerusalem, and this for the indigent, the widow, and the orphan, is fully confirmed by the practice of good old Tobit, even when he was a captive at Assyria, against the opinion of the Rabbins. Tobit, ch. i. † 6, 7, 8.

for a possession, when they have also offered those sacrifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this, and hath brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first fruits that are for the Levites, and for the festivals; and when he is about to go home, let him stand before the holy house, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land and a large, and lets them enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he has openly testified that he had fully paid the tithes [and other dues,] according to the laws of Moses, let him entreat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him; and continue so to be to all the Hebrews, both by preserving the good things which he hath already given them, and by adding what it is still in his power to bestow upon them.

23. Let the Hebrews marry, at the age fit for it, virgins that are free and born of good parents. And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not corrupt another man's wife, and marry her, nor grieve her former husband. Nor let free men marry slaves, although their affections should strongly bias any of them so to do, for it is decent, and for the dignity of the persons themselves, to govern those their affections. And farther, no one ought to marry a harlot, whose matrimonial oblations, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive; for by these means the disposition of the children will be liberal and virtuous; I mean when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterward find her so to be, let him bring this action, and accuse her, and let him make use of such * indica-

* *These tokens of virginity*, as the Hebrews and Septuagint style them, Dent. xxii. 15. 17. 20. seem to me very different from what our later interpreters suppose. They appear rather to have been such close linen garments as were never put off virgins after a certain age, till they were married, but before witnesses, and which, while they were entire, were certain evidences of such virginity. See these, Antiq. B. vii. ch. viii. § 1. 2 Sam. xiii. 18. Isaiah, vi. 1. Josephus here determines nothing what were these particular *tokens of virginity* or of *corruption*; perhaps he thought he could not easily describe them to the heathens, without saying what they might have thought a breach of modesty; which seeming breach of modesty laws cannot always wholly avoid.

tions to prove his accusation as he is furnished withall ; and let the father or the brother of the damsel, or some one that is after them nearest of kin to her, defend her. If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favour, that she had not been guilty, let her live with her husband that accused her ; and let him not have any further power at all to put her away, unless she give him very great occasions of her suspicion, and such as can be no way contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife, in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to her father : but if the damsel be convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she was lawfully married ; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any one has two wives, and if he greatly respect and be kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him ; and if the son of her that is beloved be the younger by birth than another born of the other wife, but endeavours to obtain the right of primogeniture from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance, for that double portion is what I have allotted him in the laws, let not this be permitted ; for it is unjust, that he who is the elder by birth, should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty, the man because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock, the woman because she was persuaded to yield herself to be corrupted either for pleasure or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman, when she is alone, and forces her, where nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath corrupted a virgin not yet espoused, marry her ; but if the father of the damsel be not willing that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of her prostitution. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for * any cause whatsoever, and many

* These words of Josephus are very like those of the Pharisees

such causes happen among men, let him in writing give assurance that he will never use her as his wife any more, for by this means she may be at liberty to marry another husband, although before this bill of divorce be given she is not to be permitted so to do ; but if she be misused by him also; or if, when he is dead, her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die and' leave her without children, let his brother marry her; and let him call the son that was born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance, for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred ; and this will be for the solace of wives under their affliction, that they are to be married to the next relations of their former husbands. But if the brother will not marry her, let the woman come before the senate, and protest openly that this brother will not admit her for his wife, but will injure the memory of his deceased brother, while she is willing to continue in the family, and to bear him children: and when the senate have inquired of him, for what reason it is that he is averse to this marriage, whether he gives a bad or a good reason, the matter must come to this issue, that the woman shall loose the sandals of the brother, and shall spit in his face, and say, " He deserves this reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased." And then let him go away out of the senate, and bear this reproach upon him all his life long; and let her marry to whom she pleases, of such as seek her in marriage. But now if any man take captive, either a virgin, or one that hath been * married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to bring her to bed to him, or to live with her as his wife, before she hath her head shaven, and hath put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that by this means she may give vent to her sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and matrimony; for it is

to our Saviour upon this very subject, Matt. xix. 3. *Is it not lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?*

* Here it is supposed, that this captive's husband, if she were before a married woman, was dead before, or rather was slain in this very battle, otherwise it would have been adultery in him that married her.

good for him that takes a woman in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, while he hath no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many are sufficient to prudent persons for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage ; but in case when he hath satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make her a slave, but let her go away whithershe pleases, and have that privilege of a free woman.

24. As to those young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honour, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them, or think themselves wiser than they, in the first place, let their parents admonish them in words, (for they are by nature of authority sufficient for becoming their judges,) and let them say thus to them: "That they cohabited together, not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their riches, by joining both their stocks together, but that they might have children, to take care of them in their old age, and might by them have what they then should want." And say farther to him, "That when thou wast born we took thee up with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for thee, and brought thee up with great care, and spared for nothing that appeared useful for thy preservation, and for thy instruction in what was most excellent. And now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice thee to have given so many indications of thy contempt of us, reform thyself, and act more wisely for the time to come ; considering that God is displeased with those that are insolent towards their parents, because he is himself the father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonour which falls upon those that have the same name, when they do not meet with due returns from their children. And on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment ; of which punishment mayest thou never have the experience !" Now if the insolence of young men be thus cured, let them escape the reproach which their former errors deserved, for by this means the lawgiver will appear to be good, and parents happy, while they never behold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words, and instructions conveyed by them, in order to reclaim the man, appear to be useless, then the offender renders the laws

implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him, therefore, be * brought forth by these very parents, out of the city, with a multitude following him, and let him be stoned; and when he has continued there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night. And thus it is that we bury all whom the laws condemn to die, upon any account whatsoever. Let our enemies that fall in battle be also buried; nor let any one dead body lie above ground, or suffer a punishment beyond what justice requires.

25. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury, neither usury of what is eaten or what is drunken, for it is not just to make advantage of the misfortunes of one of thy own countrymen; but when thou hast been assistant to his necessities, think it thy gain, if thou obtainest their gratitude to thee; and withall that reward which will come to thee from God, for thy humanity towards him.

26. Those who have borrowed either silver, or any sort of fruits, whether dry or wet, I mean this, when the Jewish affairs shall, by the blessing of God, be to their own mind, let the borrowers bring them again, and restore them with pleasure to those who lent them, laying them up, as it were, in their own treasuries, and justly expecting to receive them thence, if they shall want them again. But if they be without shame, and do not restore it, let not the lender go to the borrower's house, and take a pledge himself, before judgment be given concerning it, but let him require the pledge, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition, to him that comes upon him under the protection of the law. And if he that gave the pledge be rich, let the creditor retain it till what he lent be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep, God himself naturally showing mercy to the poor. It is also not lawful to take a millstone, nor any utensil thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtors may not be deprived of instruments to get their food withall, and lest they be undone by their necessity.

27. Let death be the punishment for stealing a man; but he that hath purloined gold or silver, let him pay double.

* See Herod the Great, insisting on the execution of this law, with relation to two of his own sons, before the judges at Berytus, *Antiq. B. xvi. ch. xi. § 2*

If any one kill a man that is stealing something out of his house, let him be esteemed guiltless, although the man were only breaking in at the wall. Let him that hath stolen cattle pay four-fold what is lost, excepting the case of an ox, for which let the thief pay five-fold. Let him that is so poor that he cannot pay what mulct is laid upon him, be his servant to whom he was adjudged to pay it.

28. If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let him serve him six years, and on the seventh let him go free; but if he have a son by a woman-servant, in his purchaser's house, and if on account of his good-will to his master, and his natural affection to his wife and children, he will be his servant still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of jubilee, which is the fiftieth year, and let him then take away with him his children and wife, and let them be free also.

29. If any one find gold or silver on the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, as not thinking it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is finder keep it with himself, and appeal to God, that he has not purloined what belongs to another.

30. It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress, when in a storm it is fallen down in the mire, but to endeavour to preserve it, as having a sympathy with it in its pain.

31. It is also a duty to show the roads to those who do not know them, and not to esteem it a matter for sport, when we hinder other advantages, by setting them in a wrong way.

32. In like manner let no one revile a person blind or dumb.

33. If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron, let him that is smitten be avenged immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him: but if when he is carried home, he lie sick many days, and then die, let him that smote him escape punishment; but if he that is smitten escape death, and yet be at great expense for his cure, the smiter shall pay for all that has been expended during the time of his sickness, and for all that he has paid the physician. He that kicks a woman with child, so that the woman * miscarry, let him pay a fine in money, as the judges

* Philo and others appear to have understood this law, Exod. xxi.

shall determine, as having diminished the multitude by the destruction of what was in her womb; and let money also be given the woman's husband by him that kicked her; but if she die of the stroke, let him also be put to death, the law judging it equitable that life should go for life.

34. Let no one of the Israelites keep any * poison that may cause death, or any other harm; but if he be caught with it, let him be put to death, and suffer the very same mischief that he would have brought upon them for whom the poison was prepared.

35. He that maimeth any one, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same member of which he hath deprived the other, † unless he that is maimed will accept of money instead of it; for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he hath suffered, and permits him to estimate, unless he will be more severe.

36. Let him that is the owner of any ox which pusheth with his horn kill him: but if he pushes and gores any one in the threshing floor, let him be put to death by stoning, and let him not be thought fit for food; but if his owner be convicted as having known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox's having killed a man. But if the ox have killed a man-servant, or a maid-servant, let him be stoned; and let the owners of the ox * pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain: but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other, and

22, 23, better than Josephus; who seems to allow, that though the infant in the mother's womb, even after the mother were quick, and so the infant had a rational soul, were killed by the stroke upon the mother, yet, if the mother escaped, the offender should only be fined, and not put to death; while the law seems rather to mean, that if the infant in that case be killed, though the mother escape, the offender must be put to death, and not only when the mother is killed, as Josephus understood it. It seems this was the exposition of the Pharisees in the days of Josephus.

* What we render a *witch* according to our modern notions of *witchcraft*, Exod. xxii. 18. Philo and Josephus understood of a *poisoner*, or one who attempted, by secret and unlawful drugs or philtres to take away the senses or the lives of men.

† This permission of redeeming the penalty with money is not in our copies Exod. xxi. 24-25. Levit. xxiv. 20. Deut. xix. 21.

‡ We may here note, that 3. shekels the price our Saviour was sold for by Judas to the Jews, Matt. xxvi. 15. xxvii. 3. was the old value of a bought servant, or slave, among that people.

that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide their price between them.

37. Let those that dig a well or a pit be careful to lay planks over them, and so keep them shut up, not in order to hinder any persons from drawing water, but that there may be no danger of falling into them: but if any one's beast fall into such a well or pit, thus digged, and not shut up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let there be a battlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from rolling down and perishing.

38. Let him that has received any thing in trust for another, take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing; and let no one invent any contrivance whereby to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, and this whether a man or a woman; no, not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body; for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as he may procure commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can lie concealed: but if he in whom the trust was reposed, without any deceit of his own, lose what he was intrusted withall, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God, that nothing hath been lost willingly, or with a wicked intention, and that he hath not made use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame; but if he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he had received, after the same manner as in these trusts it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, as being sensible that God has allotted that wages to him instead of land and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the labourer of the immediate use of what he hath laboured for.

39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to vouchsafe them commiseration, because they were born of wicked parents, than hatred, because they were born of bad ones:

nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from what they have been instructed in, this by their proud refusal of such instruction.

40. Let those that have made themselves eunuchs be had in detestation: and do you avoid any conversation with them, who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given men for the increase of their kind: let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they beforehand have lost what should procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have withall transfused that effeminacy to their body also. In like manner do you treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to * geld either men, or any other animals.

41. Let this be the constitution of your political laws in time of peace; and God will be so merciful as to preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance: and may that time never come which may innovate any thing, and change it for the contrary. But since it must needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either undesignedly, or intentionally, come let us make a few constitutions concerning them, that so being apprized beforehand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be obliged to go to seek what is to be done, and so be unprovided, and fall into dangerous circumstances. May you be a laborious people, and exercise your souls in virtuous actions, and thereby possess and inherit the land without wars, while neither any foreigners make war upon it, and so inflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you do things that are contrary to your fathers, and so lose the laws which they have established. And may you continue in the observation of those laws which God hath approved of, and hath delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether they befall you now in your own time, or hereafter in the times of your posterity, be done out of your own borders: but when

* This law against castration, even of brutes, is said to be rigorous elsewhere, as to inflict death on him that does it, which seems only a Pharisaical interpretation in the days of Josephus of that law, Levit. xxi. 9. and xxii. 24. only we may hence observe that the Jews could then have no oxen which are gelt, but only bulls and cows, in Judea.

you are about to go to war, send embassages and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies, for it is a right thing to make use of words to them before you come to your weapons of war; and assure them thereby, that although you have a numerous army, with horses, and weapons, and above these, a God merciful to you, and ready to assist you, you do, however, desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which will indeed be our gain, but what they will have no reason to wish we should take to ourselves. And if they hearken to you, it will be proper for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust on their own strength, as superior to yours, and will not do you justice, lead your army against them, making use of God as your supreme commander, but ordaining for a lieutenant under him, one that is of the greatest courage among you; for these different commanders, besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done on the sudden, are a disadvantage to those that make use of them. Lead an army, pure, and of chosen men, composed of all such as have extraordinary strength of body, and hardness of soul; but do you send away the timorous part, lest they run away in the time of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies. Do you also give leave to those that have lately built them houses, and have not yet lived in them a year's time; and to those that have planted them vineyards, and have not yet been partakers of their fruits, to continue in their own country; as well as those also who have betrothed or lately married them wives, lest they have such an affection for these things, that they be too sparing of their lives, and by reserving themselves for these enjoyments, they become voluntary cowards, [on account of their wives.]

42. When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel. And when you are engaged in a siege, and want timber for the making of warlike engines, do not you render the land naked by cutting down trees that bear fruits, but spare them, as considering that they were made for the benefit of men; and that if they could speak, they would have a just plea against you, because, though they are not occasions of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer in it, and would, if they were able, remove themselves into another land. When you have beaten your enemies in battle, slay those that have fought against you; but preserve the others alive, that they may

pay you tribute, excepting the nation of the Canaanites, for as to that people you must entirely destroy them.

43. Take care especially in your battles, that no woman use the habit of a man, nor man the garment of a woman.

44. This was the form of political government which was left us by Moses. Moreover he had * already delivered laws in writing, in the fortieth year [after they came out of Egypt;] concerning which we will discourse in another book. But now, on the following days, (for he called them to assemble continually,) he delivered blessings to them and curses upon those that should not live according to the laws, but should transgress the duties that were determined for them to observe. After this, he read to them a poetic song, which was composed in hexameter verse; and left it to them in the holy book: it contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterward. Agreeably whereto all things have happened all along, and do still happen to us; and wherein he has not at all deviated from the truth. Accordingly, he delivered these books to the † priests, with the ark; into which he also put the ten commandments, written in two tables. He delivered to them the tabernacle also; and exhorted the people, that when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injuries of the Amalekites, but make war against them, and inflict punishment upon them for what mischief they did them when they were in the wilderness; and that when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants, as they ought to do, they should erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizim, situate on the right hand, and that called *Ebal*, on the left: and that the army should be so divided, that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites, and the priests. And that first, those that were upon Mount Gerizim should pray for the best blessing upon those who were diligent about the worship of God, and the observation of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses had said to them; while the other wished them all manner of happiness also: and

* These laws seem to be those above mentioned, § 4. of this chapter.

† What laws were now delivered to the priests, see the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. i. §. 7.

when these last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this, curses were denounced upon those that should transgress those laws, they answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of what had been said. Moses also wrote their blessings, and their curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly, that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was ready to die, he wrote these blessings and curses * upon the altar on each side of it; where he says also the people stood, and then sacrificed, and offered burnt-offerings, though after that day they offered upon it any other sacrifice, for it was not lawful so to do. These are the constitutions of Moses; and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

45. On the next day, Moses called the people together, with the women and children, to a congregation, so as the very slaves were present also, that they might engage themselves to the observation of these laws by oath; and that duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either for favour of their kindred, or out of fear of any one, or indeed for any motive whatsoever, think any thing ought to be preferred to these laws, and so might transgress them. That in case any one of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their constitution of government, they should take vengeance upon them both all in general, and each person in particular; and when they had conquered them, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and if possible, should not leave the least footsteps of such madness: but that if they were not able to take such vengeance, they should still demonstrate, that what was done was contrary to their wills. So the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

46. Moses taught them also by what means their sacrifices might be the most acceptable to God: and how they should go forth to war, making use of † the stones [in the

* Of the exact place where this altar was to be built, whether nearer Mount Gerizim or Mount Ebal, according to Josephus, see Essay on the Old Testament. p. 166—171.

† Dr. Bernard well observes here: how unfortunate this neglect of consulting the *Urim* was to Joshua himself in the case of the Gibeonites, who put a trick upon him and ensnared him together with the rest of the Jewish rulers with a solemn oath to preserve them, contrary to his commission to extirpate all the Canaanites root and branch; which oath he and the other rulers never durst break. See Scripture Politics. p. 55, 56, and this snare they were brought into, because they did not ask counsel at the mouth of the Lord, Joshua, ix. 14.

high-priest's breastplate] for their direction, as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was present. And when Moses had recapitulated whatsoever he had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars, and in peace, and had composed them a body of laws, and procured them an excellent form of government, he foretold, as God had declared to him, that "if they transgressed that institution for the worship of God, they should experience the following miseries: their land should be full of weapons of war from their enemies, and their cities should be overthrown, and their temple should be burnt; that they should be sold for slaves to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions; that they would then repent, when that repentance would no way profit them under their suffering. Yet, said he, will that God, who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens, with their temple also; and you shall lose these advantages not once only but often."

47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead out the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks while I am still alive, and present with you, for that providence he hath exercised over you, which hath not only delivered us from the miseries we lay under, but hath bestowed a state of prosperity upon us; as also, that he hath assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the contrivances I had in my care about you, in order to better your condition, and hath on all occasions showed himself favourable to us; or rather he it was who first conducted our affairs, and brought them to an happy conclusion, by making use of me as a vicarious general under him, and as a minister in those matters wherein he was willing to do you good: on which account I think it proper to bless that divine power which will take care of you for the time to come, and this in order to repay that debt which I owe him, and to leave behind me a memorial that we are obliged to worship and honour him, and keep to those laws, which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if he continue favourable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly, an human legislator is a terrible enemy, when his laws are affronted, and

and are made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God which will be the consequence of the neglect of these his laws, which he, who is your Creator, hath given you."

48. When Moses had said thus, at the end of his life, and had foretold what would befall to * every one of their tribes afterward, with the addition of a blessing to them, the multitude fell into tears, insomuch, that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had when he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, as not able to contain their grief; and thereby declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue and mighty deeds: and truly there seemed to be a strife between the young and the old, who should most grieve for him. The old grieved, because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may make a guess at the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was always persuaded that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since the undergoing it was agreeable to the will of God, and the law of nature, yet what the people did so overbore him, that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping; but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bid them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that were nearer him that they would not render his departure so lamentable: whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favour, to let him depart according as he himself desired; so they restrained themselves, though weeping still towards one another. All those who accompanied him, were the senate, and Eleazar the high-priest, and Joshua their commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called *Abarim*, (which is a very high mountain, situate over against Jericho,

* Since Josephus assures us here, as is most naturally to be supposed, and as the Septuagint gives the text, Deut. xxxiii. 6. that Moses blessed *every one* of the tribes of Israel, it is evident that Simeon was not omitted in his copy, as it unhappily now is both in our Hebrew and Samaritan copies.

and one that affords to such as are upon it a prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan,) he dismissed the senate; and as he was going to embrace Eleazar and Joshua, and was still discoursing with them, a cloud stood over him on the sudden, and he disappeared in a certain valley, although he wrote in the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear lest they should venture to say, that because of his extraordinary virtue he went to God.

49. Now Moses lived in all one hundred and twenty years; a third part of which time, abating one month, he was the people's ruler: and he died on the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians *Dystrus*, but by us *Adar*, on the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever were in understanding, and made the best use of what understanding suggested to him. He had a very grateful way of speaking, and addressing himself to the multitude: and as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if he hardly had any such in his soul, and only knew them by their names, as rather perceiving them in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army as was seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known; and this to such a degree, that whatsoever he pronounced, you would think you heard the voice of God himself. So the people mourned for him thirty days: nor did ever any grief so deeply affect the Hebrews, as did this upon the death of Moses; nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that desired him, but those also that perused the laws he left behind him had a strong desire after him, and by them gathered the extraordinary virtue he was master of. And this shall suffice for the declaration of the manner of the death of Moses.

END OF VOLUME I.

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